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ART. I.—QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE CHURCH.

[CONTINUED FROM PAGE 312.]

5. *But if the Reformation is the work of God, why then did it result in so many divisions; destroying the unity of the Church, contrary to Scripture?*

This question is a favorite string with fanatical Priests to harp upon. From Catholic pulpits, and through their papers, it is echoed forth, ever and anon, with an air of ridicule and triumph. Nor is it a fruitless hobby among the ignorant masses in the Catholic Church. Even to serious minds in the Protestant communion, it has often become a stumbling-block of considerable magnitude. But this question can certainly be answered satisfactorily. Just as the divisions in the Primitive Church did not grow out of the essence and principle of Christianity itself, so also those divisions occurring at the time of the Reformation, were not the natural and necessary result of its divine principle. They sprang from causes entirely foreign to its own nature and design. The spirit of the age, together with existing circumstances, rendered them unavoidable.

Luther, with his personal peculiarities, labored in Germany, Zwingli in Switzerland, and Calvin in France, where, in his own field of labor, each one became naturally a centre of attraction and an object of admiration. Although commissioned by one common Master, influenced by one Spirit, and engaged in one noble cause, alike honest and zealous, with one common object in view;—yet, in many other respects, these great men differed

widely from each other : as in temperament, disposition, talent, ways and means of discovering and communicating the truth, and consequently they differed also in views and ideas. That these personal peculiarities of the Reformers excited preferences among the people to whom they respectively ministered could not be otherwise ; and these preferences formed the basis for subsequent divisions. The Reformers acknowledged Christ as the head and centre of the Church ; therefore they were fully conscious also of the unspeakable importance of Christian unity, and endeavored, with all their might, to prevent division. "*I pray*"—says Luther—"that none may use my name, and call themselves Lutherans, but Christians. Who is Luther ? As the doctrines are not mine, so neither have I been crucified for any one. Therefore let us obliterate all party-names, and call ourselves after Christ, whose doctrines we have." The great Zwingli manifested the yearnings of his soul after Christian union, when with tearful eyes he extended the hand of brotherly love to Luther, at Marburg. Nothing was more foreign from the desire and intention of the Reformers, than to create distinctions and divisions ! But they differed naturally and honestly. And their people, respectively, could not help but form a peculiar attachment to their great benefactor. For they felt enthusiastic in the enjoyment of mental and religious freedom ; therefore, they *must* express their gratitude in tokens of devotion. As long as the Reformers labored separately, so long the existing differences were unknown, and their work went on peaceably ; but after their meeting together, they became apparent, and disagreement and opposition commenced.

It may be well to state here briefly the principle points of difference. The Reformers differed very materially in two respects ; 1, in their ideas of the elements in the Lord's Supper, and 2, in their views on the doctrine of election. Luther and Zwingli differed about the former, and Zwingli and Calvin about the latter point. The fundamental cause of this remarkable difference must be sought in their training. Luther, who had been trained "under the Law and the Prophets," having

passed through the rigid school of a monastery, felt a powerful and scrupulous attachment to the Roman Church and her doctrines. Hence his view of the Lord's Supper was, in the beginning, essentially that of the Catholic Church. For "he asserted freely, that bread and wine are really and essentially changed into the body and blood of Christ, under the consecration of the Priest." "And although he disapproved that the Catholic Church deprived her lay-members of the cup, yet he believed with her, that under each form the entire bodily Christ was present and partaken of." "*As fire penetrates every particle of iron, until both become one; so also the glorified body of Christ penetrates every particle of the consecrated elements, so that both are one.*" (Draeseke, Ueber den Confessions Unterschied, eine Predigt, 1817. Page 10.) This was Luther's original view, which he modified materially through the influence of Melancthon. But when subsequently a number of fanatical spirits arose, by whom the sacraments were undervalued, Luther returned to his former view, and opposed all who differed from him. "*I will rather drink blood with the Pope,*" he said on one occasion in reference to the Lord's Supper,—"*than drink wine with Zwingli.*"

The Swiss Reformer, on the other hand, had been raised in the atmosphere of political freedom, having breathed the pure mountain air of his native country. Hence he was constitutionally different, and, for this reason, unable to appreciate the importance of the old Church and her institutions and doctrines, as Luther did. He took the Holy Scriptures for his platform and guide, and carried on all his reformatory movements according to its principles. On the Lord's Supper Zwingli taught at first: "*Bread and wine are only representations of the body and blood of Christ; only signs of the communion; only means for our remembrance, and alone through such remembrance are they of signification.*"

Calvin was not satisfied with this; neither with Luther's literal and Romish view, nor with Zwingli's means for remembrance. He differed from both and taught: "*Bread and wine are certainly not changed, but nevertheless the body and blood*

of the Redeemer is truly partaken of by the communicants ; not bodily with the mouth, but spiritually by faith ; not by all, but by believers only ; not by means of the external symbols, but through a supernatural operation of Christ upon the pious soul." We see from this, that Luther and Zwingli, in their views of the Lord's Supper, moved in opposite directions, whilst that of Calvin constitutes a bond of union between the two.

On the second point of difference, the doctrine of Election, Luther occupied at first high predestinarian ground, because he was a great admirer of Augustine, whose views on this subject he had adopted. Zwingli, with his noble, generous soul, believed and taught : "*That God has designed all men without distinction to become heirs of a blissful immortality ; that no one is excluded ; that the heavens are open for every one that fears God, even pious and sincere heathen not excepted.*" This opinion he based upon the following passages of Scripture : 1 Tim. 2 : 4, John 3 : 17, James 1 : 13, Acts 10 : 35.

Calvin, who, like Paul, had been changed very suddenly from darkness to light, ("*God has conquered my soul*"—he says—"through a sudden change,") looked very naturally upon the total depravity and utter helplessness of man in a different light. Consequently his conception of the justice and grace of God was also far higher. Hence we hear him proclaim : "*No, by no means ! According to the eternal purpose of God, there are many, even in the Christian Church, not designed for eternal life ; but they are vessels of wrath, fitted to destruction, (Rom. 9 : 22,) and as such they cannot enjoy grace, even if they should wish it. Others are born for heaven, and such must yield to the operation of grace, even against their own will. Because God hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and he hardeneth whom he will.*" (Rom. 9 : 18.)

Luther's modified view of this doctrine, "in which he was very unsettled and wavering," is this : "*Grace is extended to all men for conversion. Whoever is elected to be saved, cannot resist the operation of grace, but whoever does not belong to the elect, will resist the influence of grace, and must resist it, because he is wicked by nature.*"

In these different views of the Reformers, on the subject of the Lord's Supper and election, (not in the doctrines themselves) we have the principle ground work of all those lamentable divisions between them and their followers. And yet, deplorable as this result may seem, we cannot blame them for honestly holding and maintaining their separate opinions; especially since they considered them of vital importance to the life and conduct of a Christian, and in fact to the whole Church. There are matters of minor importance, which contributed much toward separating and keeping apart the two sister Churches of the Reformation; such as *customs* and *usages*. "The Lutherans retained much of the Papal Church, which was calculated to operate upon the senses. Their church edifices were more decorated. They celebrated more festive-days. Their worship possessed greater variety. Their Liturgy contained more prescription and art, even to excess." With the Reformed people it was different. They abandoned all that appeared superfluous, and aspired after a free, sober simplicity in everything pertaining to the Church. Their zeal in this direction carried them too far in some instances, and hence they could not agree with the Lutherans, who appeared to move in an opposite direction.

But notwithstanding all these differences in theory and practice, the Reformers were one in spirit and aim. The inmost desire of each one was, to establish one united evangelical Reformed Church; a Church full of spirit and life, the pillar and foundation of truth, according to the Apostle Paul's idea. That they have failed to realize this noble design, must be attributed to the prevailing weakness and perversity of human nature. And with all its faults and imperfections, the Reformation was a grand and holy cause. Hence it prospered under the superintending care of Divine Providence, and has proved a blessing to millions of immortal souls; nay, to the whole world. Catholics may deny this. But is not the Roman Church herself largely indebted to the Reformation and the Protestant Church for her present prosperity? Have not a number of her most prominent men been born and educated

in the bosom of the Protestant Church? Are not nearly all the editors of influential Catholic periodicals and papers in the United States, apostates from the Protestant faith? How very different would the Catholic Church be from what she now is, if she had no rival in the Protestant Church, to excite her to action? Consider her condition prior to the Reformation! Look at those countries where she now holds the exclusive sway! She might indeed still boast of undisturbed peace; of universality, infallibility, uniformity, &c.; but in reality she would resemble a stagnant pool, or a stinking swamp, with a smooth surface, externally beautiful, but internally full of corruption!

The Reformation has indeed resulted in a great variety of denominations, differing in talent and ability, like the servants in the parable, Math. 25. Though distinguished by name and temporal circumstances, they all confess freely, as members of one great family, to have been commissioned by one common Master, for whose glory they live and labor. Hence there is not only great variety in the Protestant Church; but also vital and essential unity. 1.) All denominations acknowledge only one true head of the Church, namely, Christ; in this they are united. 2.) All agree that the salvation, merited through His death and resurrection and proceeding from Him as the head of the Church, is the proper and necessary life for all the members; in this they are united. 3.) All believe that the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son, as the agent of divine grace, is indispensably necessary for regeneration, sanctification and eternal life; in this they are all united. 4.) All hold that faith, by which the gifts of grace are received into the heart, constitutes the living bond of union between the head of the Church and her members; in this they are united. 5.) All acknowledge that, according to Scripture, baptism in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, is the proper way by which individuals are introduced into the communion of the Church, in order to grow there in the grace and knowledge of Christ; in this they are united. 6.) All Protestants agree, that the hope of a blissful immortality, so full of comfort and strength to the Christian during his

earthly pilgrimage, has been solemnly promised by Christ to all his followers, and will surely be awarded to all that remain steadfast to the end. In all this they are united; and since these are some of the essential points in Christianity, we may safely say, that the Protestant Church, with all her external jangling and jarring about non-essential matters, is nevertheless *essentially one*.

This unity in variety is presented to us in the four gospels. Taken separately each one contains a revelation of the whole Christ, and is, therefore, universal in its character, and complete in itself. But when taken together, the four constitute properly only one gospel, in which the same Saviour is exhibited in a far higher and more complete form. So also the different Protestant denominations; taken separately, each one constitutes a churchly individuality, in which the universality of the Christian Church is more or less exhibited. But when taken together, they constitute only one Protestant Church, in which the essential characteristics of the kingdom of Christ appear in a higher and more complete form. It is to be lamented, that the essential points of unity are too much overlooked, whilst the points of difference are studied and presented with the greatest care. Here lies the root of all that reigning coldness, discord and opposition among the members of one household of Christian faith. John 13 : 35. Ephes. 4 : 1-4.

What is the German Reformed Church?—her origin—name—doctrines—worship—distinction from other denominations—spirit and life?

It has been stated already, that the Reformers, Luther, Zwingli and Calvin, began their labors separately in different countries, unknown to each other. We have noticed also, that their respective people formed a peculiar attachment to their persons, adopted their views and thus received the impress of their mind. "Like priest, like people," was verified also in this case. The enemies of the Reformation, who subsequently at Spire gave to the entire body of evangelical Christians the

name *Protestants*, stigmatized them in their separate condition with the names of their respective leaders: Lutherans, Zwinglians and Calvinists. When these distinct bodies subsequently met together and discovered the existing difference in their religious opinions and views, those names became invested with peculiar signification, and were often applied to each other with uncharitable severity, contrary to the protestations of the Reformers. The two Reformed interests, however, under Zwingli and Calvin, soon recognized each other as legitimate brethren, both standing on the platform of the Scriptures, and aiming to effect a thorough *life-reformation*, according to its precepts. And because peace was most precious to their souls, therefore they united and labored hand in hand. About matters of minor importance they agreed to disagree. Thus the Reformation formed itself into two distinct and leading interests, Lutheran and Reformed. Many hopeful and earnest attempts were made, at different times, to bring them together under one form; but all efforts in this direction failed to accomplish the desirable end. Luther honestly considered his peculiar views, (not the Sacraments and doctrines) of more importance than the unity and peace of the Church. Neither sound, overwhelming arguments, nor the most solemn entreaties, nor yet tears could move him from his obstinate position. (See D'Aubigne's History of Ref. IV. page 77-107, Germ.) Luther saw and felt, towards the close of his life, that he had gone too far in maintaining his peculiar views, and acknowledged this mistake with regret. This we learn from the following conversation with Melancthon: "Lieuer Philippe, ick moets bekenen, der sake vam auentmale is vele tho vele gedaen." "Antwarde Philippus." "Her Doctor, soe latet uns eine scrift stellen, dar de sake inne gelindert werde, dat de waerheit bliue, un de kerken weder eindrechtig werden"—"Darup Doctor Luther" "Ja lieuer Philippe, ick hebbe dat vake un oftmael gedacht, auerst soe werde de gantse leer verdacht; ich wilt dem almechtigen Gode beualen hebben: Dohet ghy oek wat nha mynem dode."—(Reformirte Kirchen-Zeitung, No. 40, Oct. 1, 1853.) Translation: "Dear Philip, I must acknowl-

edge that the subject of the Lord's Supper has been carried a great deal too far—to which Phillip answered: Doctor, then let us prepare a writing (or paper) in which the subject may appear in a milder form, that the truth may remain, and the churches may again be brought into harmony. Luther replied: Yes, dear Philip, I have thought of this much and many times, but then the whole doctrine would become suspicious. I will commit it to Almighty God. Do you also something after my death." From this we see plainly that Luther felt very uneasy about the course he had pursued. And yet the same wrong course is pursued, even now, by many of his followers, such as the old Lutherans.

Germany, under the influence of Luther, had become almost exclusively Lutheran, as far as the Reformation extended; but the people were not fully conscious of this, until the doctrinal views of the other Reformers were promulgated among them. And then it was found that a large number of the people had never been entirely satisfied with, nor adopted all the views of Luther, and with them his protestation against the use of his name, as a party name, had not been in vain. For they readily embraced the views of the other Reformers and adopted them as their own; although many Lutheran ministers misrepresented and denounced them as heretical and pernicious. They had from the beginning been *reformed* Christians in theory and practice, and that is what they desired to be considered and called. These reformed people in Germany at the time of the Reformation, constitute the original stock of the German Reformed Church, in distinction from Lutherans, Zwinglians and Calvinists. They placed themselves upon the broad platform of Scripture and owned no party name; but acknowledged Christ as their only proper leader, according to whose precepts they cultivated a spirit of charity toward all their Christian brethren. Although they had rejected the peculiar, extreme views of Luther, and did not own his name, yet it was not their desire to be considered a separate and distinct people. This mildness in their views, however, and their manifest indifference respecting the name of Luther, was intolerable to

many of the Lutheran ministers at that time. Strong opposition arose, which increased rapidly, especially when it was found that the Reformed people in Germany agreed, in many respects, with Zwingli and Calvin. Then the sharp instruments of bitter criticism and calumny were applied diligently to the doctrinal views of these great men, in order to destroy their influence, but without success. It served only to sever the bonds of love and sympathy between those one sided Lutherans and the German Reformed people, and compelled the latter to form themselves into a distinct body. As the blind, fanatical opposition of the Papacy to all the Reformers, had providentially assisted in the establishment of the Protestant Church, so the uncharitable zeal of many Lutherans against Zwingli and Calvin contributed largely toward the formation and establishment of the Reformed Church in Germany. Through the numerous disputations, (especially the one at Marburg,) the Reformed doctrines were extensively circulated and found favor with all unprejudiced people throughout the country. Some strong Lutherans even became converts to the German Reformed cause. (See D'Aubigne, IV, 106, German Ed.) And this was very natural. For at Marburg, Zwingli, Oecolampadius, and others, manifested not only a very clear, enlightened mind, great philosophical skill and a vast amount of learning; but also a tender heart and Christ-like disposition. They offered to make great sacrifices for the peace and prosperity of Zion. "Zwingli would have gone to the ends of the earth for the sake of unity." A second cause of this transition from the Lutheran to the German Reformed side is found in the fact that Luther changed his doctrinal position several times. Whilst at first he held the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation; in 1519 he appeared to move in the Zwinglian extreme. "I go to the Lord's table"—he wrote at that time—"and receive there a sign from God, that the righteousness and sufferings of Christ justify me: This is the communion of the Lord's Supper." Then again he brought out the doctrine of Consubstantiation, trying to occupy medium ground between Catholics and Zwinglians. Can any one wonder that this

created suspicion among the people, and that many abandoned the standard of Lutheranism, and embraced the doctrines of the Reformed? Now these people, in consequence of their transition, together with all others in Germany, who had been more Reformed than Lutheran, from the beginning of the Reformation, were called German Reformed, (*Deutsche Reformirte.*) Here then we have the origin of our Church. She did not grow out of the Flacian controversy, as has been intimated; but her existence as a consciously different people in the bosom of the Lutheran Church, dates back to the very commencement of the Reformation. To her further development the influence of Melancthon, with his evangelical, conciliatory spirit, contributed much. His doctrinal views were essentially those of Calvin, and his position that of a mediator between Lutherans and Zwinglians. Through him a large portion of the German Lutheran Church became prepared, contrary to his design, to fall in with the German Reformed. As soon as this became evident to the high-toned Lutherans, a persecution against him and all his peaceable friends was commenced. But their fanatical zeal against the German Reformed faith, served only to further the good cause, which they intended to injure. It filled the Melancthonian Lutherans with disgust, and aroused the German Reformed to redoubled activity. And although the bitter, controversial spirit of Flacius and his school, caused a powerful agitation in the Lutheran Church against Melancthon, and employed every possible means to destroy his influence; (imprisonment was even resorted to. Caspar Peucer, son-in-law of Melancthon, was in prison ten years for having taught Calvinism in Saxony. Many German Reformed ministers met with the same fate,) yet Melancthonian Lutheranism on the one hand, and Melancthonian Calvinism on the other, continued to develop harmoniously upon the common platform of the Augsburg Confession. But the Flacian Lutherans looked upon the progress of these two elements with envy and hatred, and determined to undermine their foundation. For this purpose they brought forth the Form of Concord, with the hard doctrine of Ubiquity, which they endeavor-

ed to force upon all the Lutherans. But the followers of Melancthon could not be induced to put themselves under this yoke of conscience. On the contrary this instrument of oppression, together with the unrighteous proceeding of its authors and advocates, drove them in large numbers into the camp of the German Reformed. An example of this we have in the city of Bremen. Ion Timan, a fanatic defender of ultra Lutheranism, prepared a pamphlet, called, "*Ferrago sententiarum in vera et Catholica doctrina de coena Domini*," in which he makes binding the doctrine of Ubiquity, or omnipresence of Christ's body, after his ascension, and calumniates and condemns Zwingly, Calvin, Melancthon and the whole Reformed Church, as "a band of heretics, a product of the devil." Then he insisted that all the other ministers of the city should subscribe their names to this pamphlet, which was also done, with the only exception of Dr. Hardenberg, a learned, peaceful and mild man, like his worthy instructor, Melancthon, who refused. The highly offended Timan began to rave against him in private and from the pulpit; representing him as an "apostate from Luther's doctrine, a sacramentarian and blasphemer." Upon this the city council, mostly friends of Timan's views, first expelled Hardenberg and Gravenstein, his only defender, from office, and soon after banished them both from the city. On their departure a large number of mourning and weeping citizens accompanied them, and their absence only increased the sympathy of the people; whilst it awakened also a feeling of indignation against the authors of this tyrannical act. In a public meeting, called to ascertain the views of every citizen on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, a member of council was expelled from office, because he tried to defend the innocent Hardenberg. This additional act of tyranny provoked a popular insurrection; in consequence of which the council was forced to reinstate the expelled officer, and to recall the banished ministers; whilst those who had been conspicuous in this despotic transaction, both council and clergy, were now in turn banished from the city by the people. The places of nineteen members of council were at once filled with

men of Melancthonian views. After this the Reformed Confession was gradually introduced into all the schools. From 1689 till 1803, the city council was composed exclusively of German Reformed members. The Dome-church, from which Dr. Hardenberg had been forced away, was not opened again during a period of seventy-seven years. Does it not seem strange, that the people, after having been under the influence of ultra Lutheran ministers for so many years, should in the end prove to be Melancthonian Reformed in feeling and views? Who could have thought that the name of Calvin, so long despised and denounced in the Lutheran pulpits of Bremen, should one day resound from those very pulpits as a name of honor and distinction! Yet this wonderful change occurred. The whole city became German Reformed, with the exception of a single congregation!

Such and similar losses should have proved lessons of wisdom to the ultra Lutheran party, to render them more prudent and cautious in their proceedings. But they continued their assaults with the utmost zeal, upon all that did not fall in with the Form of Concord, (even the Augsburg Confession was not excepted.) This bitter unrighteous warfare against the German Reformed Church rendered it necessary, that she should lay down her principles and define her position in some suitable formula; in order to silence, if possible, the tongue of slander, and thereby secure her own peace and prosperity. None felt this duty more sensibly than Frederick III, Elector of the Palatinate. As a pious devoted friend of the German Reformed Church, because she contained the proper element for his practical religious life, he desired to see her firmly established, and resolved therefore to call forth the latent power and talent of the Church in the production of a suitable formula. His noble effort was crowned with abundant success, in the formation of the Heidelberg Catechism. For in this blessed little book, the true evangelical spirit and character of our Church is manifest on every page. Christ, the divine Peace-maker, occupies the centre, training up the whole German Reformed Church to a body of peace-makers. This is the proper

mission for which God, in his wise Providence, has called our Church into existence, and we rejoice in the fact, that she has endeavored to fulfil this mission throughout her history.

It has often been said, that the German Reformed Church must be regarded as a development of Zwinglianism. But, mark it, brethren, we have not sprung from that source. Although there always have been ministers and members in our communion, who incline to the views of that efficient Reformer, yet Zwinglianism has never reigned in our midst to the exclusion of the other elements of sound Protestantism. Again, because there have been, and still are, those among us, who adopt Calvin's system; therefore our whole Church has sometimes been misrepresented as a product and embodiment of Crypto-Calvinism. But, mark it, brethren, in the German Reformed faith, the Calvinistic element that entered into our Church was modified from the beginning, by Lutheranism on the one hand, and by Zwinglianism on the other. It is the Melancthonian Calvinism, that has predominated in our midst, and which we have reason to cherish with fondness. Our Church is not the product of any single man; nor has she ever adopted any man's doctrinal views exclusively. Her original body was Lutheran-Reformed, into which Zwingli afterwards breathed his generous soul, and Calvin and Melancthon their heaven-born spirit. Thus all the elements of the Reformation have been received into her bosom, whilst she has steadily rejected its unfortunate extremes.

HER NAME.

Considering what has been stated above in regard to the nature and position of our Church, it is scarcely necessary to give any reason why she was called *German Reformed*. She too might have called herself after one of the Reformers, or some other eminent divine, like the Lutheran Church; or she might have taken a name from some prominent doctrine, or custom, or practice; but her consciousness of the imperfections of men and their doctrinal views was too strong. She had learned by experience that none of the Reformers, by himself,

was able to comprehend the whole truth pertaining to the Church of Christ, much less to present it in a permanent form. It was evident to her, that these great men, like the Apostles of our Lord, constituted only counterparts of each other; therefore she considered it unwise to assume the name and embrace the doctrinal views of any one of them for her standard. Having abandoned the idolatry of Saint-worship in the old Papal Church, and knowing from experience how very common and dangerous it is to "boast in man," she was fully awake to the solemn warning of the Apostle Paul, (1 Cor. 3,) and hence could not be induced to adopt a fanciful name. The present name of our Church is scriptural, historical and natural. Church is scriptural, Reformed is historical, and German is natural, designating the place of her nativity. It is the old apostolical Church, reformed in Germany, or the German Reformed Church!

HER DOCTRINES.

The doctrines of our Church are clearly defined and exhibited in her venerable symbol, the Heidelberg Catechism. Here we find them carefully arranged according to the plan of salvation in Scripture, and every doctrine is supported by a number of proof-texts, which, like so many finger-boards, point the searching traveler into the temple of God's holy word. No idle speculations; no polemic rivalry; no offensive reference is found in its pages, except for such as will take offence at truth. All is positive instruction in divine wisdom. In every sentence breathes the Spirit of God, and in every doctrine is manifest a pure motive and earnest desire to lead sinners to Christ and to heaven. The very first question and answer, O how comprehensive, and how unspeakably important! Whoever has fully understood its contents and realized in his soul the value thereof, is in possession of a treasure worth more than all the riches and honors and pleasures this world can offer. Christ appears there at once in his lovely, mediatorial character, as the Lamb of God slain for sinners, and as the purchaser and righteous owner of fallen mankind. The enquiring sinner, on

the other hand, corrupt and helpless by nature, is directly pointed to this mediator as the only sure hope of his salvation.

The doctrines of our Church are divided into three parts. The first part treats of the fall and misery of man; his depravity and utter helplessness, and of his absolute dependence upon the grace of God for salvation. The second part sets forth this "salvation through Christ by faith," representing also the necessary means of grace through which this faith, and salvation by it, can alone be obtained. The third part treats of thankfulness, as the natural and indispensable fruit of a living Christian faith. This beautiful arrangement is of great practical use, as it presents to us the natural course of every sinner's salvation. First he must be convinced of and *feel* his sins and misery, that he may desire help; then he must come to the Saviour who alone can rescue him, and after the burden of guilt has been removed and his soul realizes the Father's good pleasure through the Son, he must manifest his gratitude for such gracious deliverance. This order is presented to us by the Apostle Paul in his epistle to the Romans.

The doctrines of our Church are not the product of any single Reformer, neither Luther's nor Zwingli's nor Calvin's, although the different elements in which these great men respectively moved, entered into her constitution from the beginning. She received none to the exclusion of the rest, nor did she adopt anything that seemed not fully to agree with Scripture. As she had been born in the element of genuine practical Christianity, so she continued to live and move in it, and hence her doctrines must be practical also. And because the German Reformed Church combined the different elements of the Reformation in a modified form, therefore her doctrines suited Zwinglians as well as Calvinists, and called forth the admiration of the entire Reformed Church in different countries. Yea, it is a well known fact, that even the Lutheran Church, to a great extent, both in the old and new world, have long since acknowledged the more scriptural character of our doctrines; for they have adopted them as their own on all important subjects, and have thus virtually become German

Reformed, although many of her ministers go still about proclaiming, "We are the children of Luther!" But on account of their liberal character, our doctrines have also often been falsely interpreted and grossly misrepresented. With little trouble some have been able to discover ultra Zwinglianism in great abundance, whilst others found Crypto-Calvinism from beginning to end. What feelings and object must have been instrumental in bringing about such wonderful discoveries, it is unnecessary to conjecture. So much is certain, however, that in reality neither one of those extremes is found in our system. Every doctrine grows forth spontaneously from the living consciousness of a purified Christianity, and is supported from all sides by imperishable proof-texts in the word of God. This is overwhelming evidence that the German Reformed Church is rooted in the Holy Scriptures and regards them as her only ultimate rule of faith and practice. Church and Scripture are unitedly represented and perpetuated in our doctrines; but not the mere views and ideas of any single man. Yet we are held up ever and anon to public gaze as heretics; especially by fanatical "Old Lutherans," who insist upon the purity of *their* doctrine, to the exclusion of all others, without respect to consequences; like the Jew Shylock insisted upon his right to a pound of flesh. By diligent practice they have acquired wonderful skill in distorting and misrepresenting our doctrines, and to pass wholesale condemnation upon the entire Reformed Church. It would be difficult to find any Pope so full of presumption and arrogance, as some of the famous heralds of this most uncharitable pseudo-Lutheran sect. Instead of Christian love and liberality, they instruct their people in the exercise of prejudice and exclusiveness, which is the mother of hatred and strife. As soon as a warm hearted German Reformed gets among them, he begins to feel immediately that he is surrounded by a set of incongenial spirits, whose strange look and cold breath make him feel chilly and uncomfortable. But why be astonished at their improper conduct toward us, when enmity and denunciations are a common practice among themselves. Whoever has read their papers, must have ob-

served, that a host of "Rotten-Geister" have been sent from Buffalo down to Missouri, and from there back again to Buffalo. Whether the love of Christ moves them to the exercise of such brotherly love, or the Spirit of the Gospel, we will leave the kind reader to decide.

That we have Zwinglianism and Calvinism, as well as Lutheranism in our system of doctrines, no German Reformed will pretend to deny; on the contrary, we glory in the fact, not because it is the product of the Reformers, but because it is real Christian truth. The Apostles' Creed, which occupies a prominent and central position in our Catechism, was held sacred by Luther, Zwingli and Calvin. Modern theologians may call it, "a human invention" and "a relic of Popery;" as long as the German Reformed Church remains faithful to her venerable symbol, so long will she also hold on to the Apostles' Creed; for if *this* be stricken from our Catechism, all the other doctrines must at once sink into obscurity, because the light has been withdrawn. We cherish the Creed not only on account of its age, or because it is called apostolic, but because it contains the essential truths taught by our Lord and his Apostles. It is a compendium of the entire Revelation of the triune God!

The doctrine of the Lord's Supper is the principal one on which our orthodoxy has been questioned, and here we have been accused of error and heresy from two sides. As these accusations are repeated from time to time, we deem it of the utmost importance that every member of the German Reformed Church should know them, and make himself fully acquainted also with our doctrine. To aid in this we will here give a brief statement, 1, of the accusations, and 2, of what our Church really teaches.

1. We are accused of a figurative and rationalistic explanation of the words with which the Saviour instituted this sacrament; it is heralded and rumored abroad that we change them into an empty "it signifies," and thus destroy their real meaning and efficacy.

2. It has been a common accusation against us, that we

consider the Lord's Supper to be nothing more than a memorial, and that the elements are regarded by us as naked signs, or phantoms, significant only for our remembrance. Now we will readily admit that among the strict followers of Zwingli, of whom there have always been some in our denomination, such grave mistakes may have been committed; but we consider it most unjust to bring such charges against our whole Church. The term "it signifies," which originated not with Zwingli, but with the Church of Zurich, has been officially abandoned by the same Church ever since the year 1549, and the German Reformed Church, as a body, never used it. Nor has she ever held the Lord's Supper to be a mere memorial, or considered the elements as naked signs. But that these charges could be urged with remarkable propriety against a large portion of the very denomination from which they proceed, needs no proof.

3. We are accused of teaching that at the Lord's table the communicant does not enjoy the presence of Christ unless he first elevates himself in spirit to fetch him down from heaven; and that we consider the Lord's Supper nothing more than an external badge, by which a Christian is to be known; that therefore our doctrine teaches a mere representation or symbol of Christ.

4. From the same quarter we are charged with teaching that "the soul of the communicant must first come to Christ, before the Lord in the fulness of his divine grace comes to him," and that thus the communicant's act of faith only, which causes Christ to be present, constitutes the Lord's Supper a sacrament. Furthermore it is asserted, that we do not give the proper value to this sacrament, considering the other means of equal importance, and that, therefore, our celebration of the Lord's Supper affords less comfort to the weak in faith than that in the Lutheran Church.

We consider it entirely unnecessary to refute these and many other accusations that are brought against us. It is sufficient to point to our doctrine and to the general experience of our people. This two-fold testimony to the contrary is

worth more than our individual vindication would be. Indeed our doctrine of the Lord's Supper needs no vindication ; a simple statement of it ought to silence all objections. And what does the German Reformed Church teach on this most important subject ? According to the letter and spirit of the Heidelberg Catechism she teaches :

1. That invisible treasures of grace are connected with the visible elements, and in the exercise of a living faith she humbles herself before the " great mystery " in child-like simplicity, and believes that in the Lord's Supper the body and blood of Christ are partaken of ; so surely as the elements are received ; not, however, with the mouth, but in a spiritual, supernatural and heavenly manner.

2. That in the Lord's Supper, and by means of it, the living Christ offers himself truly to all believers, and that their souls are nourished by him unto life eternal.

3. In the Lord's Supper our Church solemnly proclaims the Saviour's death as the only ground of her salvation ; she celebrates it as a covenant-memorial, in which the believer is assured of the forgiveness of his sins, and has sealed to him the inheritance of the saints in glory, and obtains new strength from on high for further sanctification.

4. Our Church regards the Lord's Supper as a perpetual bond of love and unity, and for this reason she considers the celebration of it indispensably necessary for all Church members. At the Lord's table all ranks and distinctions vanish ; rich and poor, high and low, learned and unlearned, all stand on a common platform as needy, and must recognize each other as brethren in Christ. It is a thanksgiving-festival for the Saviour's dying love, at which the believers consecrate themselves anew to God and receive nourishment for their inner, spiritual man.

5. In her celebration of this sacrament our Church has always observed the institution of Christ completely, unaltered in word and sign, and in the *breaking of bread* she maintains the original order of the Primitive Church. She does not make the efficacy of the sacrament dependent upon the char-

acter of the dispenser;—but holds that all unworthy persons, such as draw near without sorrow for their sins, without a living faith in Christ, and without the sincere purpose of leading holy lives, eat and drink condemnation to themselves. Therefore she insists upon the absolute necessity of a thorough self-examination previous to the communion.

6. The German Reformed Church rejects the doctrine of “the presence of Christ’s body and blood *in and under* the bread and wine;” but teaches “a real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the *transaction* of the Supper, so that with bread and wine the Lord is present for all communicants, and is really enjoyed by all believers.” “The question, how it is possible that Christ can be present for all, and offer himself really to believers, since he has ascended to heaven, the German Reformed Church does not attempt to explain by setting up the doctrine of his bodily omnipresence—*communicatio idiomatum*;—but she suffers a mystery to remain a mystery still, and teaches that Christ, although in heaven, is nevertheless present in the Lord’s Supper, in a manner that is incomprehensible and inexplicable.” But although our Church holds and teaches that Christ offers himself to every communicant present; yet she cannot believe what has been asserted by some, that every one, even a decided unbeliever partakes of the Lord’s body and blood. Hence we consider it great presumption, when any particular denomination or sect arrogates to itself the exclusive possession of the only pure doctrine of the Lord’s Supper, and then makes the efficacy of the sacrament dependent upon this, as is commonly done by Old Lutherans. That the Lord, as the true bread of heaven, feeds the longing soul in and through the sacrament, is a fact upon which the German Reformed Church lays great stress. She teaches also emphatically that the symbols do not bring the Saviour to us; but that Christ feeds our souls with himself through the Holy Spirit, who is the only mediator between temporal and eternal, or earthly and heavenly things. (1 Cor. 12: 1.) Hence she does not make the sacramental blessings independent of those which proceed from the Holy Spirit, as if

the one could be enjoyed without the other. With her the word of God, the sacraments, the influence of the Holy Spirit and the Christian Church, are all divine means of grace, given and instituted by Christ for the salvation of sinners. As such they must go together and can never be separated, as if a part of them could accomplish the end for which the Lord has instituted them all. Searching the Scriptures and seeking the influence of the Holy Spirit is necessary and praiseworthy; but this by itself will never make a complete and genuine Christian. And on the other hand, to have faith in the Christian Church and in the holy sacraments, is necessary and commendable; but also this by itself will never constitute a true follower of Christ. Yet this dependence upon a part of the means of grace is practiced in the Christian world to a lamentable extent. Among Roman Catholics the entire salvation is made to depend upon their faith in the Church and her ordinances; and hence by far too little account is made of the word of God, and of the *particular* influence of the Holy Spirit. This is practically demonstrated in her members. On the other hand, many Protestants appear to consider the reading of the Scripture and the influence of the Holy Spirit all-sufficient for salvation; therefore they make too little account of the sacraments *in their proper sense*, and the exercise of faith in the Church is considered almost superfluous. This is one of the essential and fundamental differences between Catholics and Protestants, and it is evident that there is room here for correction on both sides. The German Reformed Church has endeavored from the start to combine the means of grace, and to give due importance to each of them, according to Scripture. In her Catechism, Quest. 65, she teaches that "the Holy Ghost works faith in our hearts by the preaching of the Gospel, and confirms it by the use of the sacraments." But the preaching of the Gospel, and the use of the sacraments are inseparably connected with the Christian Church; for without it they could not even exist. Being conscious of this fact the German Reformed people exercise faith in the living Church of our Lord as a divinely instituted means of grace. How it delights their

souls to sing: "I love thy kingdom Lord, the house of thine abode," &c.

May we not hope that this brief statement of our doctrine of the Lord's Supper will silence at least some objections, and assist also to confirm our dear people in the faith of their sainted forefathers? No doubt many of our brethren have heard Lutheran ministers make the assertion, that a member of the German Reformed Church has to lose nothing by going over to them, whilst a member of their Church loses much by coming to us. This we consider an utterly mistaken notion; for whoever will study carefully the scriptural purity and soundness of our glorious doctrine of the Lord's Supper, will soon be led to the conclusion, that the contrary is the fact. Let no one be deceived by such boasting assertions, nor by any cries of danger; for we stand on firm ground.

Another serious charge is brought against us, in reference to this subject, which we cannot well pass by without some notice. Holding on with firm determination to the faith of our forefathers, as we find it in the Heidelberg Catechism, and in various other symbolical productions of our Church, we are gravely charged with a Romanizing tendency. This accusation is the fruit, no doubt, of those extremely low views, prevalent among some Protestant denominations; whose "master minds" even proclaim loudly that "they celebrate the Lord's Supper in remembrance of an absent friend." Such views our Church could never adopt without losing her historical identity, and in fact her whole character. But then the German Reformed doctrine of the sacraments is as different from that of Rome as day is from night, and no sensible, honest man, conscious of this real and essential difference, should be guilty of uttering such an accusation. For let us examine the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, and see how the German Reformed Church agrees with it.

1. The Romish Church teaches a continual "unbloody sacrifice" of Christ in the Mass. Our doctrine rejects this in toto.

2. She teaches transubstantiation, or a transformation of the elements into the body and blood of Christ, by the conse-

eration of the priest. Our Church rejects this in toto.

3. She teaches the communion under one form, depriving the laity of the cup, (*communio sub una.*) We consider this as contrary to Scripture and reason.

4. She teaches a celebration of the sacrament without the participation or activity of the congregation, which is called the quiet mass, (*missa solitaria.*) Our Church holds that the Lord's Supper has been instituted because there was a congregation to partake of it, and that without this participation the Sacrament must lose its character as a means of grace. Hence we can never agree with such doctrine.

5. She teaches Mass adoration, worshipping the consecrated wafer. We consider this idolatrous and reject it in toto!

6. In her Mass for the dead she teaches that the Lord's Supper is useful for bodily evils,—and that the elements remain the body and blood of Christ also beyond the participation, without being used. All this we reject as unscriptural and absurd.

7. She teaches that the consecrated wafer must be carried about as a show, and that the partaking of the Lord's Supper is meritorious without faith, (*ex opere operato.*) We reject this as a pernicious invention, and a direct contradiction of divine truth.

8. Lastly, she teaches the use of a dead language, and makes auricular confession binding. This also we reject as a dangerous error.

Now I ask in the name of truth, where is there the least shadow of reason to charge our Church with Romanism. Brethren in the German Reformed faith! study the doctrine of your Church in its Scriptural purity and soundness, and its essential difference from that of Rome; then you will certainly feel at ease in your beloved Zion; for she is the Lord's abode, and in his presence there is no danger!

Cincinnati, Ohio.

H. R.

[*To be continued.*]

ART. II.—THE PERSON OF CHRIST.

AN EXPOSITION OF JOHN 6: 63.

"THE words that I speak unto you, they are Spirit, and they are life."

Thus spake the Saviour. They are words which will be regarded as truly precious by all who are qualified, by an earnest habit of thought and piety, to penetrate and understand them. In reading over the inspired pages of divine revelation, which contain the same infinite variety as we behold in nature, it is not unfrequent that we meet with passages of a peculiarly emphatic character, like the present. Whenever we do so, we ought to pause, and give ourselves time for serious reflection and meditation. These are words that fell directly from the Saviour's lips, trembling with his divinity. What passage can be said to carry with it a more solemn emphasis: "The words that I speak unto you, they are Spirit, and they are life." What, at the same time, could be more perfect in its connection, and complete in itself.

Christ had been teaching the people the nature of eternal life under the figure of bread: that this life, so strongly demanded by our fallen nature, was contained in, and inseparably connected with, his person; that the prophecy contained in the manna which was given to the children of Israel, in a miraculous way, in the wilderness, constituting a marked evidence of God's merciful concern, in sustaining their natural lives, was completely met and fulfilled in the person of Christ, as the bread of life. He says himself definitely, "I am the bread of life." And more emphatic still, "I am *that* bread of life;" namely, "everlasting life," which is received by faith in his person. After making, in this way, his own person the fountain of spiritual and everlasting life, he then proceeds to

insist upon the necessity, on the part of men, to eat that bread in order to participate really in that life. "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life; and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed," &c. No language certainly could be employed which would implicate in a more real way the humanity of Christ, and none make its participation on our part, under some real form, more essential to everlasting life. But the people losing sight, for the time being, of the divinity and consequent almighty power of Him who uttered these words, were disposed to murmur at him, and say, "Is not this Jesus the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know? how is it then that he saith, I came down from heaven? and how can this *man* give us his flesh to eat?" In this view, they regarded the whole representation as *an hard saying*, and asked, *who can hear it?*

From this it is plain, that their unbelief in regard to the doctrine of Christ, as to the possibility and necessity of their participating in his real humanity, as an essential condition of everlasting life, originated in an unbelief of the divinity of his person. It was this latter that created the former. If they had seen and felt the presence of divinity as vitally connected with the human side of his person, they would, doubtless, have been prepared, depending upon his unerring wisdom to teach, and infinite power to condition the human nature of which he spake, to have believed implicitly all that he had said, however high it might have towered above their finite comprehension. Nay, more: the very circumstance that the thing taught, lay beyond the grasp of their reason, would have served as an additional confirmation of their faith, in the very thing in regard to which they disbelieved because of their infidelity as to his divinity. They seemed to be in possession of no deeply penetrating consciousness that *Christ* had actually come in the *flesh*, and that in his person, as the *incarnate* Son of God, a divine-human fountain was now opened, competent in all respects to meet and remedy the diseased condition of our na-

ture. They regarded him rather in the light of a mere man, like one of their own number, and hence could not receive a doctrine in reference to his nature as human which could not hold in reference to their own nature under the same form.

It is worthy, therefore, of definite remark here, that, whilst the people to whom Christ was addressing himself upon this occasion, understood him as teaching the necessity of a participation in his humanity, their own belief in its possibility did not refer to the subject *per se*, but as it stood connected with a mere man.

When Jesus perceived the exercises of their minds in regard to this matter, he said to them, "Doth this offend you?" He refers again to his divinity as the ground of his representation: "What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before;" and then condescends to aid their weak faith by the explanation: "It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing; *The words that I speak unto you, they are Spirit, and they are life.*"

We are not, of course, at liberty to suppose for one moment, that any of the constituent parts of the representation made previous to the announcement of these last words, may be excluded from them altogether. As an *explanation*, their design is not to *take out* of the previous representation any of its prominent points, but to render them intelligible, to bring them, if possible, more fully within the range of the understanding, assisted by faith. If the effect of the explanation should be to ignore any prominent position taken in the representation, it would indicate a vacillating uncertainty in the teachings of Christ that could not fail to induce doubt as to his divinity. We know of no such changing of position in him who was a Teacher sent from God, and who spake as man never spake.

The absence of capacity on the part of the people, arising from their wicked unbelief as to the divinity of his person, to receive the representation he had made, could not certainly constitute a sufficient inducement for him to accommodate himself to them in the explanation in such a way as to change

substantially any position formerly assumed. To accommodate does not mean to obliterate or destroy; and we fail to read of any instance, in which any want of moral ability on the part of the people, has ever induced Christ so to modify any scheme or doctrine, as to destroy any of its primary and essential features; especially when, in his own person which was now at hand, and in the very doctrine in relation to this person which he was now preaching, all that grace was to be found, the absence of which constituted the negative cause of their incapacity. Rather are we constrained to believe that the words last quoted—constituting the basis of discussion—although different in some respects from those used before, which, as explanatory, it is necessary they should be, still embody in a real and vital way, every point and aspect of the subject as presented before, in the use of a different phraseology. If this be true in regard to points in the representation that might be regarded as minor, or less essential, then it must certainly be true in relation to the *humanity* of Christ, which is, in fact, the great burthen of the whole chapter.

Regarding then all the prominent points in the representation as contained really in the explanation, the only question for human investigation that remains is, the precise meaning which the explanation gives to these points. This, definitely, is the question.

We regard these words of explanation as referring, in the first place, to the *Person* of Christ, as the bread of life; and, in the second place, as referring, indirectly it may be, to his *ordinances*, in which that person, in substance the same as when upon the earth, but spiritualized and glorified, is always at hand, to meet and satisfy, in a real way, the demand for spiritual life in our nature.

It might seem that these propositions would, in themselves, carry such a degree of self-evidencing power as to their truthfulness, that would induce all, who have come to any degree of inward sympathy with divine things, to embrace and rest upon them at once. But, unfortunately for the precious interests of true faith, this may not be expected. Although the Chris-

tian mind at the present is generally satisfied in regard to the divinity of Christ, the primary difficulty in the Jewish mind, yet, such is the degree to which it is tainted, in every direction, with the various systems of rationalism, closing the door upon the whole region of Christianity which is seen and occupied only by faith, as utterly to disqualify us, as it would seem, for any such calm letting of ourselves down into the embrace of a life which lies beyond the discernment of reason as such, however strongly its own divine nature might draw, and our own deeper instincts urge. Discarding the ground on which the Jewish mind rested and sought to justify its unbelief as to the doctrine of a real participation in Christ's humanity, (i. e. their infidelity as touching his divinity,) do we not, for the most part, with them, practically regard the same thing as monstrous and absurd!

I. We have said that these words of explanation refer to the doctrine of Christ's person, as the principle of eternal life. "I am that bread of life." What, now, do we understand by the person of Christ, under this form? It is not too much to say here, that the merit of the whole subject lies definitely in this inquiry. Our views of every other subject within the range of the Christian faith, will take their character or complexion from the view we take of the person of Christ; for that person is evidently the conscious centre of the entire system of Christianity—imparting to it all the force and vitality which it is found to carry with it.

The point is readily conceded by all orthodox Churches, that Christ possessed, definitely, two natures—divine and human—that the "Word"—which was the divine—"became flesh," which was the human; that these two natures, in the incarnation, became so united as to form but *one* personality, or "I." Not, indeed, that the two natures, thus flowing together, amalgamated in the form of confused blending of the properties that were peculiar to each, but in such a form as to produce a most complete unity of personality, while the peculiar properties of each are allowed to carry with them relatively their own distinct force. The person or personality of Christ,

then, is the flowing together, in a real way, of the divine and human natures which he possessed, so as to constitute a unity, the elements in which are neither wholly divine, nor yet entirely human, but both. The pronoun "I," is the exponent of this unity, and must hence always imply the real presence of both natures. This is the force of the term "I" in this connection—"I am that bread of life." If it were possible to divide the person of Christ into two distinct and separate parts, (which can hardly be allowed even in thought) the question would be, which of these parts thus separated, does he designate by the pronoun I—his human or his divine nature? Could he be a Saviour of men in either character, separated wholly from all connection with the other? Evidently he could not. Hence being divine he became human, that, in this double character, he might be "Immanuel"—God with us. On this account we have always disliked the terms which some, in their unenlightened zeal to compliment Christ, are in the habit of applying to him—such as "divine Saviour," &c. Such a habit of mind indicates the utter absence of all practical sense of the only form in which he is the Saviour in deed and in truth. No form of speech is to be regarded as complimentary to Christ, as a Saviour, but rather as degrading, which virtually ignores the human side of his nature, which, in conjunction with the divine, is essential to constitute him such. If he thought it not beneath the dignity of his nature as divine, to take upon himself the human, and incorporate it into vital union with the divine, for the very purpose of becoming a Saviour, it should certainly not be the effort of those who are saved by him, to rend those two asunder, and thus destroy his saving power.

But, although this be, in fact, the form of vital union of the human and divine natures in the person of Christ, which constitutes him the Saviour of men, it is, nevertheless, contended by many, that a separate office, under certain circumstances, is given to these natures respectively, in the Scriptures. For the basis of this distinction, we are directed to those passages of the word of God, where Christ is spoken of as the "Son of

God," on the one hand, and as the "Son of man," on the other. It may be a sufficient answer to this, to say, that in all cases where such phraseology is made use of, the distinction is more formal than real; and that the general reason why even the appearance of such a distinction is made at all, lay in the necessity, on the part of the inspired writers, to accommodate themselves as far as possible, to the capacities of the human mind. In those cases, however, where Christ is spoken of in his official capacity, as the Saviour, such a distinction is never even intimated in the most distant form. He is always regarded in the integrity of his person, as uniting the two in one, in a real and vital way: the "Son of God" and the "Son of man" become one Saviour—Immanuel, God with us.

This union of the two natures, constituting the person of Christ, holds in the form of the Theanthropic Life, i. e., a life resulting from the union of the divine and human natures in his person, which contains the legitimate elements of both under the most real and vital form. "I am that bread of life." Now this life, although it contains the real elements of his humanity, as well as his divinity, is not by any means, on that account, an object for the senses, but for the faith, of men. It exists in the person of Christ now just as really as in the days of his flesh; for his union with our human nature, in the sense already explained, was not effected merely for the purpose of enabling him to accomplish a saving act upon the cross, but of carrying forward the redemption in a real way within us, by a continued impartation of himself to us, until, being filled with his nature, we shall be borne, by its own innate and heavenward tendency, to himself at the right hand of God.

It is to be deeply lamented that the resurrection and ascension of Christ, should seem to make it necessary in the faith of many, that his humanity, as such, can, in no real way, be looked upon as present in the world. In the generic form of that humanity, as now explained, his resurrection and ascension imply no such necessity; but rather, in the clearest way conceivable, constitute the condition only of its presence under a deeper and more vital form.

Being then, by the nature of his person, a real Divine-Human Saviour now, as much so as he was in the days of his flesh, the question is, under what form is this true?

1. We answer, in the first place, and say under the form of *Spirit*. "The words that I speak unto you, *they are Spirit*." We have already said, that the Jews understood the Saviour in his discourse, as referring to his humanity. In this they certainly understood him correctly. Their only fault, in this respect, was, that they regarded him as referring to his human nature under too coarse and gross a form—as literal flesh, blood, &c. This understanding, or rather, misunderstanding, he designed to correct by the use of the term "*Spirit*." We certainly may discover a polemic opposition in this term, to the *carnal* apprehension of his person. While the humanity which is assumed in the incarnation, is ever most vitally connected with it so as to be part and parcel of its true nature, yet it is never to be regarded in a gross, materialistic sense. In the case of a mere man, as they regarded him, this perhaps, was the highest form in which "*flesh*," as such, could be viewed, at least by them. But now, connecting with the power of the godhead which resided permanently in his person, and which stood in vital union with his humanity, rendering the whole divinely transparent, it was not to be apprehended in that low, coarse sense, but as elevated, and spiritualized. The flesh of Christ, as begotten by the Holy Ghost, and as rising generically into, and uniting with, his divine life, becomes itself a *πνευματικόν*; so that whilst all its attributes, holding only in time and space, are left behind, its inward power comprehending all that is real and necessary as the germ of an actual humanity, remains permanently and forever linked with his person. Were the human nature of Christ not thus taken up into the divine by the power of the Holy Ghost, and penetrated and spiritualized, it would indeed profit nothing, as, in that case, we should lack the evidence of a proper and necessary union of it with the divine; for the most satisfactory proof of the vital union of the two, lies in the fact, which we here discover, that the one is *conditioned* by the other, and yet not in

such a way as to destroy any essential and necessary quality that may attach to either. "It is the Spirit that quickeneth" the human—raises it into its proper sphere as human; it does not destroy or ignore it, but infuses it with its own proper vitality as human, and not as spirit.

There is then a deeper sense to be attached to the discourse of Christ, in its reference to his humanity, than that caught up by his hearers upon this occasion: and this undercurrent of thought and doctrine is not confined to his teaching in this instance merely, but underlies, as we have reason to believe, all the discourses that fell from his lips. Whilst this fact is generally conceded, the tendency seems to be equally general, to seize hold of the inward sense as purely spiritual, or visionary, (for it amounts to just that in the end) and array it against the outward as carnal. Why may not the inward, by the power of the Holy Ghost, contain all the reality of the outward? This view admits of no contrariety or contradiction, and prepares the way for a complete reconciliation—the inward is the outward really in all respects in which this last appeals to the senses, only under a deeper and more powerful form. It is in this way that our faith is assisted in the higher and mysterious realities of our holy religion. "The letter" (that is, the literal or gross sense) "killeth, but the Spirit," (i. e., the higher or more spiritual sense) "maketh alive." The humanity in the person of Christ then, holds in the form of the Spirit, as opposed to the carnal, or gross view of flesh.

2. This human nature, is said still further, to exist in the person of Christ under the form of *life*. We may not regard this term as containing the same thought and nothing more, that was contained in the other. There is a shade of difference. It is an advance upon the former. The term "Spirit" or "Spiritual," which the Saviour applied to the doctrine which the Jews had understood in its "carnal" sense, seemed to be the very utmost limits of two extremes, capable of no real connection. We have not explained it thus, because this is not the true sense in fact; but would it not appear so to the mind he was now addressing? Occupying, as they did, the

carnal side of the extreme, how natural would it be for them to seize the Saviour's intimation and fly to the opposite; and, under the form of "Spirit," exclude the idea of humanity altogether? Hence the propriety of introducing a middle term which may fix and hold the human nature in its proper place, and make it real, notwithstanding it is taken up into the sphere of the spiritual. For this purpose the term "life" is used as explanatory of the term Spirit; and the term is well selected. "The words that I speak unto you, they are life." The Spirit is conditioned by the Life.

This term is applicable, properly, only to the union of the two natures in the person of Christ. It is the word definitely in which they come to their proper union, and become suffused with active power respectively to accomplish in a joint way, the great work of human salvation. By the term life, he would have them to understand that in the constitution of his person, as the Saviour of man, his humanity forms a necessary factor, not merely under the form of Spirit, that is, of Spirit in such a sense as to exclude its reality, and thus leave a mere Gnostic show or an unsubstantial picture, but as a *real life*, or *life-fact*; as if he had said, "Because I say that the humanity, forming part of my person, does not exist in the gross form of flesh, as you understand me to mean, do not, therefore, say that it does not exist there at all, save as a picture, a fancy, an abstraction. By avoiding one extreme, do not run into another; for both are equally dangerous."

The fact that we have an everliving Divine-Human Saviour is every where taught in the New Testament. "We have not an high priest who is passed into the heavens that cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; for he was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin."

There is a universal tendency in the human mind to look upon that which is spiritual as *opposed* radically to that which is human. It seems to see no relation between them—no inward and real adaptation for each other—no common ground on which they can meet and unite in a vital and free way. This is Gnosticism—Rationalism. It leaves no room for a real, vital

union of the human to the person of Christ—it exists only in appearance; or if the union was real, it was constrained, and continued only through the short period of his earthly life, and was then glorified into an abstraction.

The tendency thus to think and feel is the result of the divorce of these two factors of existence in our own persons by the power of sin. "It was not so from the beginning." This divorce in our persons constituted the very destruction in which we lay as helpless sinners, and from which we were calling to be delivered. In Christ was our help, because it was in him that the human and the divine again met inwardly and vitally; and thus the way became opened really for their meeting again in our persons. Thus the *body*, as well as the soul, is made the subject of his salvation. How, we may ask, were this possible in any real way, if there were no capacity in the body for the spiritual and divine? But now we see that the very body, by the power of Christ's divine-human life, is made thus to possess a germ of spiritual life which will finally raise it from the grave of decay, and bring it forth in the glory of the resurrection body, without the destruction of any one constituent element of its nature as human. "Because I live, ye shall live also."

The conclusion then of the whole matter, as touching the person of Christ, is, that it comprehends the divine and human natures in the form of the most real though spiritual life—the only life competent to raise the world from the death of sin to the life of holiness; that He, constituting as he does, by his incarnation, the real centre of the world under all its forms, has most fully opened the way for a real communication between heaven and earth; so that in his person—world embracing as it is, the power is comprehended, by which the whole creation, groaning and travailing in pain from centre to circumference, as well as the human which groans within itself, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of its whole being, body and soul, may be raised from the dreadful death of sin, and brought back to the life of God. This, and nothing short of this, is the significance of the person of Christ as the principle of real, spiritual and eternal life.

But, heavenly and delightful as all this is, were we compelled to stop here, our highest hopes would still be disappointed. Something more is needed than merely to *behold* by the *mind* all fulness treasured up in the person of Christ, in all respects adapted to our spiritual necessities. A royal feast, bountiful in all its provisions, may indeed greatly gratify the eye, but this would not satisfy our hunger. It must be brought near to us in a more real way. The provisions must be taken *into us*, not in the way of thought or fancy, but really. Then they become nourishment—impart strength and animation, and enable us to accomplish the purposes of life. Why should we regard the provisions in the person of Christ in a less real light? and why should the necessity of a real appropriation of them to our persons, be looked upon as less essential and important? Is not our Christian life as real as our natural? And who will say that its demand for a real participation in the merits of Christ, under a divine-human form, is not equally imperative? “Except ye eat the flesh of the son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.” Is all this a mere picture? Does it imply nothing more than the mere outward contemplation of the merits of Christ? This were indeed turning the whole sublime scheme of redemption into a figment or fancy. The outward, legal scheme, which mechanically sets the merits of the second Adam over against the demerits of the first, thus freeing us in the eye of the law, might indeed be satisfied with such a view. But it certainly is not easy to see why the system of Universalism should not occupy the same ground? Surely it has a right to the same hope. If the merits, divine and human, contained in the person of the Redeemer, in a form wholly separated and distinct from the human subject, can avail to the salvation of one individual, then it can, and by necessity will, avail in like manner for all. Here the doctrine of universal salvation is consistent; for there is no room for distraction, but on the ground of an arbitrary decree, and much less for limitation, seeing that the merits of Christ are infinite.

These systems might answer if our disease as sinners lay wholly in a thought or law out of, and beyond us. But this is

not the condition of our nature. Whilst it is true that the divine law, as a power standing beyond and over us, has been violated and broken, and must be rendered honorable in this outward way, by the merits of the Redeemer, we feel that our own nature demands an *application* of the same merits. We are sick at heart. We are corrupt and depraved in the very constitution of our being. We are diseased in *nature* as well as in the eye of the law; and how can the satisfaction of the law, as something beyond us, and having no vital connection with us, remedy the disease which has become constitutional, affecting our whole being? Will the mere contemplation of the merits of Christ remedy this constitutional disorder? Then would contemplation be the Saviour, and not Christ. Can the Holy Spirit do it, while the merits of Christ's person remain out of and beyond us? Then the Holy Spirit, as a divine power separate from Christ, would be the Saviour, and not Christ, in and by the Spirit. Can the First Person in the Blessed Trinity accomplish it in the same outward way? Who but feels the folly of all such questions! Christ *alone* is the incarnate Saviour, neither is there salvation in *any* other. And if the salvation is to be real in our case and not a mere fancy, it is plain that we must participate, in a real way, in those elements definitely which constitute him the Saviour. These we have seen to be his *Life*, embodying in a true way the divine and human natures. "This is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life; and this life is in his Son. He that hath the Son, hath life; and he that hath not the Son of God, hath not life." 1 John 5: 11, 12. "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth *in me*, and *I in him*." It is needless, as it would indeed be an endless task, to multiply passages of Scripture upon the real participation of the Saviour's life, in order to accomplish, in a personal and practical way, the end of his incarnation—human salvation.

The only question is, how, or by what means, can this participation be secured? Can it be done by faith in his person abstractly considered? The Scriptures, in individual instances, might perhaps create and nourish a conviction of this kind.

But when we come to an apprehension of the grand scheme which God has devised—a scheme which starts in the person of Christ—comes to an actual, tangible existence in the world, and is ever vitally connected with his person, and which reaches in an actual way the persons of his people, we at once feel that faith in Christ, as the Saviour, involves confidence to the same degree in the scheme itself. The one is the proper measure of the other. Now this general scheme is the Church, starting in his person, and declared to be “his Body—the fulness of him that filleth all in all.” This Church contains ordinances or sacraments, divinely instituted for the purpose of bringing this *Theanthropic* Life of the Redeemer into real contact with our nature.

II. This brings us to the second general thought of our subject, viz : That the words under discussion refer to the sacraments, in which the person of Christ, as now described, is always at hand to meet and satisfy, in a real way, the demand for spiritual life in our nature. These sacraments are Holy Baptism and the Lord’s Supper.

It is a matter of controversy with some, we are aware, as to whether the sacraments are at all referred to in this chapter. We have very little disposition, and still less ability, to enter largely into the debate; especially have we no thought of pleading for any formal basis for baptism. We may state, however, that the ground which is generally taken against its reference to the Supper, is the *improbability* that our Lord would speak of it *before* its institution. This is the main, and indeed, the only ground. This was the view particularly of Origen, who held it, doubtless, because of his belief that the benefits of the death of Christ, received *directly* by faith in his name, were the primary things referred to; although, strange to discover, Christ had not spoken one word of his death. After Origen, Basil the Great maintained the same view, and for the same reason. But the great majority of the early Christians seem to have been of one mind in the firm belief that this 6th chapter of John did clearly refer to the sacrament of the Supper. Chrysostom, who was followed by Cyril, Theophy-

lact, and others, and afterwards by the scholastics generally, all, to a man, stand firmly in the conviction that it refers primarily to the Eucharist, and that the mention of it before its institution, was to be regarded as a prediction on the part of Christ, designed to prepare the way for the full benefits it involved. The universal belief of the early Church, as we may say, being therefore decidedly in favor of its reference to the Supper, we have no hesitation whatever, in the absence of all Scripture prohibition, to fall in fully with the same. We do this the more readily as we know the general design of the gospel of St. John was to illustrate the prominent doctrines which he perceived to be the characteristic features of the Christian faith. These doctrines were chiefly three; first, the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity; second, the doctrine of the Church; and third, the doctrine of the Holy Sacraments. To this free sympathy with the early Church in this particular, we are led in the second place, because of our belief, that the divine-human merits of Christ's life are not received immediately and directly from his person by faith in an abstract way, but mediately, through the Church, and especially by the sacraments, which were instituted definitely for this purpose.

We regard this chapter rather as containing the idea of *Sacrament*, and as embodying for our faith the true *power* and *significance* of Sacrament, than as furnishing a formal ground for it. In this view, although the 3d chapter and 5th verse, is the place where Holy Baptism is formally and with evident design referred to, the potential force and significance of it, may, nevertheless, be viewed as vitally incorporated with the sacrament of the Supper as here brought to view. This would seem to be implied in the force of the words: "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have *no life* in you." Baptism is the sacrament in which Christian life is properly said to take its rise in the subject, and yet, in the order of nature and of time, it precedes that of the Supper. Perhaps this may be accounted for in part, from the fact, that, in the early ages of Christianity, the two sacraments were very closely connected in time, even in the case of children who were admitted to both.

Regarding, then, these sacraments as the things designated, next to the person of the Redeemer, we are called upon to examine their significance in the light of the explanation given by our Saviour, as this explanation stands connected with the previous representation of the whole chapter: "The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life." Of course we are bound, in all fairness of reason, and urged by what we conceive to be the promptings of a true faith, to regard them as the bearers of the Divine-Human Life of the Redeemer in just as real a way as we have seen his life itself to be real, as connected with his person. We cannot, indeed, escape from this faith, if we regard the Church and Sacraments, on the one hand, as the only divinely constituted channels of his grace, and on the other, recognize the necessity of a real contact of that grace with our persons, for the general purpose which the gospel contemplates. It will not do, as we have already seen, that this Divine-Human Life, in which alone salvation is comprehended, should be real in the person of Christ as separated from all vital connection with our persons. This were indeed for hungry, starving men to look upon a rich and royal banquet, only that the sense of their starving condition might become deeper and more dreadful by the contrast. The spiritual demand of our nature is real—the remedy in the person of the adorable Redeemer is real, and the means connecting that remedy with our disease must be just as real. We can recognize no room for fancy or picture in a matter pregnant with the momentous importance peculiar to this subject. He must have a strangely contorted heart, and a deeply jaundiced eye, who can feel and see nothing more in this whole representation, than a mere feasting upon the merits of Christ by means of what passes for pious feeling and devout meditation. No view certainly can satisfy the explanation, unless we make the explanation to ignore virtually the positions assumed in the previous representation, but that which recognizes in the sacraments the real Divine-Human life of Christ, which in this real way, we receive into us as the "Bread" or principle of our life.

To say that the mere water in the case of Baptism, and the mere bread and wine in the case of the Supper, involved, of themselves, and by the force of their own nature, the real Life of Christ as now explained, would be to speak great folly. But when infinite wisdom selects these emblems, and when infinite power ordains and sets them apart, and through his servants, specially consecrates them, as the bearers of the Divine-Human Life of Christ to the persons of believers, who is he to set in judgment upon that wisdom, or for one moment to limit that power! Baptism and the Supper have been thus selected and ordained, and consecrated, and it is one of the boldest acts of unbelief and rabid infidelity to deny their grace. They are God's special creatures, and true faith is always prepared to see in them God's special grace.

The same unbelieving objection might have been urged by the man impotent from his mother's womb, against the waters of Bethesda, which were reported to contain healing efficacy. What could these waters in themselves contain of curative power, beyond other ordinary waters? But God's angel, in certain seasons, entered and troubled these waters, and therefore they became powerful as a remedial agent. Can you see *how*, precisely, or explain the mystery? This same objection was indeed urged by the leprous Syrian, when directed by divine authority to "go and wash in Jordan, that his flesh might come again to him, and that he might be clean." In the wickedness of his unbelief he replies: "Are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel? May I not wash in them and be clean?" And yet, as the sequel discloses, nothing but a full surrender to, and a living faith in God's plan as such, accomplished the end sought. This is just as absolutely and unbendingly true now as it was then. His Bethesda and Jordan now are the Sacraments, borne in the divine stream of the Church, starting simultaneously in his sacred person as the God-man, Immanuel.

But what do they involve respectively?

1. Baptism is the primary sacrament. By it the person is *initiated* into the Church—planted into God's vineyard, and

made thus a plant of God's own planting. By it, his relation to the corrupt, Adamic life, is broken, and he becomes ingrafted into the Divine-Human Life of the second Adam, inducing thus the possibility of a positively holy character. The term *initiation* refers, not simply to the Church in its outward organization, but to the Church in its inward life and power, as the *real Body of Christ*. This is the real spiritual power to which Baptism gives its subjects a living connection. It makes them members organically—members of his Body. In its own nature it can mean nothing less, and thus much Scripture abundantly confirms. We are represented as *being buried with Christ* in Baptism; that is, not only deadened in a real way to sin, but removed out of its sphere, and placed beyond its reigning power and control. *We are raised with him*, in the same way, to a new and more elevated sphere of existence. "Who-soever of you that are baptized have put on Christ." "According to his mercy he *saved us* in the *washing of regeneration*." And referring to the circumstance of Noah's temporal salvation by the flood, we hear the Scriptures say, "The like figure whereunto even baptism doth now save us, (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God,) by the resurrection of Jesus Christ." But we cease our quotations; it is enough to say, that such and similar passages are scattered all through the New Testament, in all which, Baptism is represented clearly as implying the *substance* of the various types and shadows by which it was pre-figured in the Old Testament; the one is complementing to the other.

Now, whether we regard the Divine-Human Life of Christ, as planted by holy baptism into the person of the subject, or the subject as planted into this Life, in either case, the contact of Christ's humanity, as well as divinity, with his person, is most real and vital. He does participate really in his human nature, raised by the Spirit, beyond the carnal and gross conception of it, and does, in consequence, possess spiritual real life. As a plant, planted in God's own way, into a Divine-Human soil, he is in a condition to grow up into the image of

Christ, if the necessary conditions are at hand. In this respect there is a perfect analogy between the child baptized and the young and tender plant. Although the plant may be properly planted, and into the very best soil, adapted perfectly in every respect to its nature, yet, if the conditions of light, warmth and moisture are not at hand, death will be the inevitable result. The conditions in the case of the baptized child, which God has supplied in his moral government, are just as indispensable, if life is to be maintained.

The family, in its nature and constitution, is designed as the first of these conditions. The very idea of baptism in the case of the child, implies the existence of piety on the part of the parents. They are constituted, in a sense that goes far beyond the merely figurative, the priest and priestess at the altar of the little home over which they are placed. The child exists in them—forms part of their nature, and they can bear it to the altar in prayer and supplication, in just the same way in which they carry themselves thither. The family is divine in its constitution, and adapted to the spiritual as well as the natural wants of the child. It is a vital part of the Church, and implies not only the presence of obligations arising in the Church, but also the presence of special spiritual grace, whereby it is possible to discharge these obligations in a proper and becoming manner. As baptism, in its practical operations, is granted, to a very considerable extent, upon the ground of the obligations which parents or sponsors assume at the time the act is performed, it is not an unreasonable conclusion, that the practical discharge of these obligations will be the measure of benefit experienced by the child. Did parents feel the deep inward significance of baptism on the one hand, and the importance of a faithful discharge of their obligations on the other, in order to give to it its inward meaning and due practical application in the case of the child, they could neither be as indifferent to the baptism of their children, nor as careless in regard to their vows as they are. But it is not my purpose now to refer in lengthy detail to the various duties which parents, by their vows, are under obligations to discharge to their children, in

the family. They are known already far better than discharged. I shall only endeavor to excite the faith of Christian parents, if possible, in the great spiritual benefit which the institution, as such, contains for their children, and the real way in which it is imparted, and leave the force of their solemn vows, and the love they bear to their children, urge them on actively in the way *that* faith may lead them.

The Sabbath school, too, is no ordinary help in giving the baptism of our children its proper practical significance. It is a legitimate expression of Church piety, when, by the Church as such, its power for good is applied diligently to the unfolding of the life in the children, implanted by baptism. But how often, as in the case of indifferent families, is the whole spiritual interest of the child in this respect, placed into the hands of hirelings, who have no natural sympathy either with the Church, school, or spiritual nature of the child, which it is the object to draw out and develop. This habit is as infidel in the Church as it is unnatural in the family; and never, (we speak confidently) will the Church, through the Sabbath school, accomplish the end here proposed, until this habit is broke. The royalty of Christianity consists in each one's attending to his own duties, and permits not one to wear the crown and fold his hands in royal ease, whilst the part involving duty is shifted off upon others. The Sabbath school, to carry in it the life and power of the Church, need not necessarily be held in the church building, but must have the active piety of its members, evinced by the practical discharge of *their* duties in way of teaching, &c.

The catechetical class is next in order both as to nature and time. Unless this be the result in the end, the design of the school is frustrated, and our labors are in vain. And what reason have we to expect this to be the issue, unless the school is so organized as to make the whole cause tend to this as the highest interest it comprehends? Unfortunately for the Sabbath school in this country, it has very little sense of any higher interest than that which is comprehended in the bare familiarizing of the child with the Scriptures in an outward and me-

chanical way ; and after this is accomplished, it is dismissed to the world to become more the child of sin than it was originally. It has no pervading appreciation at all, as it would seem, of the baptismal *life* of the child, which looks to the Church, through confirmation, as the only element in which it can live and expand. This is the grand defect—a defect which spreads through the whole Sabbath school of America, blighting, like the deadly Simoon, the loveliest flowers planted by baptism, by the river of God. Oh when will the interests of God's heritage, the affection we bear for the dear little ones whom God has given us, in connection with the earnest and deep sense of baptismal vows, arouse us to the tremendous interest which is here at stake ! When shall we regard the Church as containing the highest end to be reached in our militant Christianity ? And when shall we be so drawn to it as to a common centre, that all our efforts shall be regarded as failures, unless they result in fixing ourselves and children more deeply and permanently in the Divine-Human life of the Church—the “Body of Christ ?”

This is the course of Christian training which the Bible plainly lays down : “Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.” Led upon this course, through the door of confirmation, into the Church—the communion of saints, the child is safe, perfectly safe, because it has complied fully with God's plan ; and now, agreeably to his promise, he will guard it from every harm and lead it constantly beside the still waters and the rich pastures of his grace, making it grow and expand, and ever tend forward towards the fulness of a perfect Christian character in Christ Jesus.

2. But in what form will he now find the grace particularly which is here so fully promised ? In the *Lord's Supper*. This is the sacrament which is more especially referred to in this chapter. It is an eating of the flesh and a drinking of the blood of Christ, under the form of spirit and life. That it involves the humanity of Christ under a real form, there cannot remain the least shadow of doubt. It is humanity, however,

penetrated by divinity, by the power of the Holy Ghost, and is hence made an object, not of oral manducation, but of faith in Christ through the sacrament of his flesh and blood. This is spiritual real food, typified by the manna, and accomplishes the same purpose in regard to the Christian or baptismal life, as *that* did in the natural life of the body. How otherwise could it be *Spirit and life*?

This does not mean the literal or corporeal presence of Christ's humanity no more than the germ, comprehending the *power* of the actual, contains the actual. The *spiritual real* presence is not by any means the *real actual* presence. The difference, I apprehend, is the difference and distance, at the same time, between the Protestant and Roman Churches. The distance is great enough, God knows, to keep us travelling towards each other for centuries yet to come, without coming so near as to afford opportunity for a very loving embrace. There is no inward reason at all why the one should, at any point, become the other. Transubstantiation, as commonly held, is an absurdity, contradicting reason, and destructive to faith. The same may be said generally of consubstantiation, one of the pet theories of the great Reformer, Luther. This last does not absorb and annihilate the natural properties of the emblems, bread and wine, as the other does, but it does make the *actual* humanity of Christ so penetrate these, as to render faith, in their reception, entirely nugatory and unnecessary as a condition. The merits of Christ go with the emblems in all cases of their reception. This, too, is extreme ground, which the Reformed Church has never occupied. Her steady adherence has ever been to the doctrine of the spiritual real presence, as brought out specially by Calvin. It is the medium between the extreme of Zwingli on the one hand, who regarded the whole transaction in the light of a mere outward memento, and that of Luther, just mentioned, on the other. It ever contends for the spiritual real presence, that is, the presence of Christ under the form of a Divine-Human life—thus retaining in the Church in a real way, Christ as a Saviour, to the end of time. This is the doctrine of our symbol so plainly drawn out, that he that runs may read.

Notwithstanding the difference between this view and the common view of transubstantiation in the Roman Church is so necessary and great, yet, as a Church; we have been charged over and over again with Romanizing tendencies just with reference to this very doctrine. Often times have these charges emanated from individuals who ought to have known better. Nor can we excuse them upon the ground of ignorance; for this is not the ground in the most of instances. We have been denying, explaining and correcting even for years, and yet the same charges fifty times demolished, are hatched up from their nonentity again, and again hurled with the same pious? zeal as before, until we have actually become so used to this kind of treatment that we are beginning to think we were born for it. We cannot but regard them, for the most part, as slanderous; nor can we help but look upon those who lend themselves, tool-like, to the nefarious business of report making, as wholly destitute of that charity "which thinketh no evil, but rejoiceth in the truth."

These things, in their proper connection—starting with the person of Christ—continued really and truly in the Church—and opening themselves to real contact from generation to generation in the sacraments, in the way of real Human-Divine life, constitute the grand Divine Plan, for saving the world. If this be so, then it follows that our confidence in the plan shall hold in precise proportion to our faith in the person of Christ itself. We cannot separate the two: the first is the means to the last; and the individual who imagines he has faith in Christ as separated from his plan of salvation, gives the lie to his fancy in that very fact. Every one who has a true, living faith in Christ will at the same time be willing to cast himself wholly upon Christ's plan; nor will he have any confidence in any other scheme that might be devised by human ingenuity. It must in the end come to this—either God's plan alone, or none at all; and this is just the same thing as the salvation of God, or no salvation at all.

A want of faith in God's plan of saving man has, heretofore, led to the adoption of other systems of human origin. Hap-

pily a re-action has widely spread all over the land, and we are beginning to feel once more the warm encirclings of a proper Church-life closing in around us. It is to be hoped that we are all sufficiently tired supping at the empty cistern that can hold no water, and that we are willing, with thankful hearts, to return in the full confidence of our spirits, to the Church—the Body of Christ, the fountain of divine life for the world.

These—imperfectly portrayed, I know—yet these are some of the glorious peculiarities of the Bible, and of the Reformed Church, and this briefly is the determination to which we are coming more and more intelligently every day. If these singly, or combined, be heresy, our enemies being judges, then with Paul we are ready to confess, “that after the way which they call heresy, so worship we the God of our fathers.”

Much, indeed, has been written, and still more spoken, of a harshly denunciatory character, against the German Reformed Church in consequence of her honest adherence to these and similar views. How all this can be reconciled with the doctrine of *private judgment*, which these speakers and writers hold as one of the most precious interests of their faith, we are at a sad loss to understand. To an ordinary mind it would certainly seem, that the right, in the case of any one class of men, to enter the Bible and interpret its teachings according to the tastes and bias that may be peculiar to them, would imply a concession of the same privilege, (if such it may be called,) to all other classes. Why then should the Reformed Church, seeking earnestly to maintain the views in which she had her origin—whether on the ground of private judgment separately, or *private judgment* standing freely in the *universal* judgment of the Church, it does not matter here,—be denounced in the rabid and unchristian style so common and even fashionable in many newspaper prints, reviews, &c. The jewel of consistency has certainly been very much marred. The fact is remarkable, which observant minds cannot but have noticed, that those very Bodies, in which the *most* account is made of private interpretation, are the strongest in their denunciation against those who, in differing from them, *seem* to stand upon

the same right. But this, after all, is the legitimate and only illustration which the principle is capable of giving. Selfishness, arrogance and pride are its natural fruits. Each mind singly, it makes the measure of the whole truth; how can it consistently admit the same measure in the case of other minds that may differ in the least degree from them? It leaves no room for unity, and still less, if possible, for a peaceful and harmonious diversity. Charity, which is the bond of perfectness, it can never understand.

1.) This whole subject should lead to a correction of our grovelling views of the Church of Christ. It is not a mere outward organization, but a divine-human life-power, originating in the Person of Christ, with an inward, historical connection with the world, containing the very help we need and must have, as sinners.

That the presence of such grand spiritual realities in the Church require faith and a great deal of subordination on the part of the individual, to the power of a deeper and more comprehensive life than his own, there can be no doubt; and there can be just as little doubt that, in this age of rationalism, empiricism and individual wilfulness under other forms, many will be found unable to cast themselves freely into the grand comprehending Christian mystery; and, becoming offended with what they conceive to be carnal, because they have no faith to apprehend it as raised into the sphere of the real and spiritual, they will pass off into the open arms of infidelity and the world. This was the result of Christ's teaching and explanation, in regard to this very subject, in this chapter. "From that time many of *his disciples went back, and walked no more with him.*" The same result in the present age, for the same reason, is no less an evidence that the doctrine is God's, and therefore marvellous to the eyes of unbelief. "They go out from us, thereby to show that they are not of us." Occasions of this kind, therefore, instead of causing our faith to waver in regard to these things, should only serve to establish and confirm that faith in their divine truthfulness.

2.) It should also lead us to see the utter absurdity of the

opinion entertained by many even in this day of intelligence, that a real and acceptable Christian character can be secured beyond the pale of the Church, as well as in it. If so, the whole grand superstructure of the Church, is only a grand imposition! The wisest and best men that ever lived were demented and the veriest fools! The Bible is a fable! and all real hope of heaven a dream.

As well might we expect our grain to germinate in our granaries, and our flowers, nursed tenderly perhaps in the hot-house, to grow out of the rock! The earth is their womb; air, light, heat, moisture, are their conditions.

Thus the Church. In her we are born spiritually in Baptism—and fed in the Supper—and clothed jointly in the garments of the Saviour's righteousness: and thus we are carried forward gradually, by the progressive and expanding power of Christ's life, until we shall reach finally the "stature of the fulness of the perfect man in him."

As I speak on the ground of God's testimony, sealed by a Saviour's blood, I must be believed when I say, it is no vain thing to confess Christ before men, by connecting with his Church. It is his own institution, divinely appointed for divine ends. It is inseparably connected with the Church triumphant in heaven, and is the only door that opens to it. "He that climbeth up any other way, the same is a thief and a robber."

All need and want salvation; and for it are all willing to strive. If the fact then be once incorporated into the faith of men that it is inseparably connected with Zion, then will they flock unto her as doves unto their windows; Zion will arise and shine; her daughters will fill her courts with music; her sons will clap their hands for joy, and her fathers, like good old Simeon, will say, "Now Lord let thy servants depart in peace, for our eyes have seen thy salvation." Then will Zion be gladly hailed as the Lamb's Bride, clothed in her beautiful garments, hanging tenderly upon the arm of her Beloved, and with tearful anxiety, awaiting the day when her anguish shall all be o'er and her bliss consummated in heaven. This is the re-

vival that we need as an entire American Protestant Church. This only can save us from the abnormal and wild tendencies of the age, and uplift a standard that, amid the wide-spreading commotions of the times, both in the Church and State, shall serve as does the light-house to the tempest-tossed mariner upon the deep, to guide both to the calm and peaceful moorings of spiritual and eternal truth.

Hagerstown, Md.

D. G.

ART. III.—SKETCHES OF A TRAVELER FROM GREECE, CONSTANTINOPLE, ASIA MINOR, SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

III. MODERN ATHENS AND THE MONUMENTS ON THE AKROPOLIS.

Departure from Malta—Hermit of Cape Malea—The Peiræus in 1834—Removal of the Capital to Athens—Greek Widow and Turkish Ambassador—Biography of Colonel Fabricius—Audience with King Otho—Excursion into northern Greece—Professorship at the Military College—Monuments of Athens—The Thesæum—Its history and description—Polychrome ornaments—Sculptures—Ancient Market Place—Ascent to the Castle—The Akropolis—Equestrian Statues—Temple of Victory—Periklean Portals—Interesting Inscriptions—Gothic Tower—Ancient Temples on the Akropolis—Worship of Pallas Athene—The Parthenon—Its Cell—Hypæthral temples—Sculptures and Polychrome decorations—Phidias—Canova—Thorvaldsen—Colossal Ivory Statue of Athene—History of the Parthenon—Its destruction by the Venetians—Its spoliation by the Robber-lord—Its restoration by King Otho—The Erechtheion Its sculptures and history—The Karyatid Virgins—Lord Byron—General Ghouras—Fete of King Otho—Illumination of the temples and moon light scenery on the Akropolis.

At the time when young King Otho, on board the British frigate *Madagascar* arrived in Greece in 1833,* there did not yet

* See our article, "Modern Greece," in "Mercersburg Quarterly Review" for July, 1854, page 437.

exist any regular communication between that country and the western ports of Europe. Steam navigation on the Mediterranean was at that period still confined to some few British vessels plying between Malta and the coasts of France and Italy; the newly established government in Greece, therefore, engaged four or five swift sailing Hydriote brigs, as royal packets, to facilitate a more regular correspondence with Marseilles, Leghorn, Malta and Trieste.

Having spent the summer months of 1834 on a most delightful, but fatiguing pedestrian tour through Calabria and Sicily, during which we ascended Mount Etna and beheld the terrors of its twenty craters, and roaring eruptions, we returned to Messina in order to embark for Greece on one of those royal packets. But the suspicious hostility of the Neapolitan government, under the show of severe quarantine regulations, closed the Sicilian ports against the new Hellenic flag; and we were thus obliged, after many difficulties on account of passports and baggage, to sail to Malta in an Austrian schooner. In that beautiful island we were politely received by the Greek consul, Mr. Michel, who gave us a free passage to Nauplion in the Hydriote packet *Miltiades*, a fine looking brig of sixteen guns, commanded by Captain Georgios Zacharis, who had taken a distinguished part in the naval war with Turkey. Toward sun-set, December 5th, the anchors were weighed and we stood out for sea. A brisk *libeccio*, or south-west wind swelled the sails and carried us in two days through the Cretan sea toward the high and frowning promontories of the Peloponnesos.

At sun-rise, on the 8th, that inhospitable, iron-bound coast lay before us; the distant mountain tops, covered with snow, appeared through the clouds. Neither towns nor villages, cultivation or verdure relieved the monotonous gray and russet colors of the rocks, piled up in chaotic disorder—only here and there on the highest peaks appeared some ruinous tower of the wild Mainots, looking down upon the breakers, foaming and chafing some thousand feet below. We doubled cape Taenaron, now called Matapan,* and crossing the deep Lakonian gulf, bore

* No doubt a corruption for *Metopon* or fore-head, the promontory presenting a bluff front against the sea.

away toward night-fall beneath the still more precipitous cape Malea, the southernmost promontory of Europe, of whose dangerous rocks the ancient mariners were so afraid, that it was a common saying among them: That whoever had to pass the Malea might bid eternal adieu to his family and friends. Nay, some relics of this superstitious dread exist among the Greeks even at the present day: for instead of continuing to tack around the projecting head-land, the helmsman of our brig, the young Dimitri Zacharis, directed the course of the vessel right against the steep rocky shore, from which the gigantic mountain arose precipitously to a height of several thousand feet above the sea. At a signal given, the sails were furled; the ship laid to, and to our utter astonishment the shout on board was responded to on shore, where a twinkling light appeared at a great distance, on the surface of the water, in a grotto at the base of the cliff, in so wild and inhospitable a region, that we would only have supposed it the refuge of cormorants and sea-gulls. We were, therefore, in expectation of some scene from the Corsair of Lord Byron, when the old Captain pointing to the distant taper on the coast, said: "Signiors, do you see that light yonder of the venerable old Hermit, who for forty years has blessed my ship and protected it from shipwreck and disasters. Every Greck vessel that doubles cape Malea sends on shore a basket with bread and fruits and some gourds of wine to warm the heart of the pious old Kaloyer." We felt the most lively desire to visit the hermit, but unfortunately the boat had already started, and when it returned after an hour's absence, we learned from Captain Dimitri, that the hermit lived many years in total seclusion from the world in the natural cavities of the mountain opening upon the sea. He had built an altar on the coast, which during night served as a beacon fire to the ships while doubling the stormy cape. Our Hydriote mariners having offered their present of provisions then knelt down before the rudely built altar, on which a lamp was burning beneath an image of the Holy Virgin, the *Panaghia*: there they chanted their Kyrie Eleison, received the blessing of the re-

cluse, and thus sure of divine protection, returned joyfully to their ship.

When we, ten years later, in 1844, a second time passed the promontory on our return to Denmark, no light appeared beneath the dreary mountain. It had been extinct for a year or two; the old hermit may probably have died in his solitary retreat.* The wind being contrary we tacked up under Crete and it was not until the seventh day after our departure from Malta that we entered the beautiful Saronic gulf, between the Peloponnesos and Attika and anchored smoothly in the celebrated port of the Peiræus. This large and safe harbor, which for centuries had presented nothing but ruins and desolation, was now full of movement and life. Several British, French and Austrian men-of-war were at anchor in the middle of the port, and quite a number of Greek brigs and *caïques*, or small coasting vessels were discharging their cargoes of timber and provisions for the new capital. Rows of white houses and a bazar of stores and magazines had recently been built along the shore, now covered with goods, which on camels and mules were transported through the swamps to Athens. Some companies of German troops had just arrived from Trieste and a detachment of handsome Greek Lancers, mounted on fiery Thessalian horses, were awaiting a transport of money from Nauplion.

Without stopping to investigate the numerous and highly interesting walls, towers and other antiquities of the Athenian port, we immediately took horses and galloped off through the plain for Athens, situated at a distance of twenty five stadia or five miles from the coast and distinctly visible by the glittering temple ruins of the Akropolis. The passage, however, was difficult on account of the swamps. The river Kephissos, descending from Mount Pentelikon through the plain north of the city, had overflowed its banks and inundated the lower re-

* The only mention of this curious apparition we have found in books of eastern travels, is the affected and truly French description of the Hermit and his Grotto, by the late M. Bory de Saint-Vincent, who saw him in July, 1829. See Expedition Scientifique de Moree, tome II, page 418, Edition in 8 vo.

gion toward the sea coast. Our horses plunged to the saddle girths and the wily mules threw off their baggage, which we at last, though wet and soiled, got safely deposited in the olive grove. In an hour and a half we arrived at the height of the western ridge of the Museion, from which the bustling city below, the elegant Temple of Theseus, the Areopagos, the Akropolis and high distant Mount Hymettos, all at once burst upon our sight. Athens appeared in the depth as one immense pile of ruins, from out of which arose here and there some unroofed churches, desolated mosques and broken minarets. At the first outbreak of the war of independence in 1821, the Greeks in their fury had burnt and destroyed all the Mohammedan sarais, bazars, baths and other public and private buildings; nay, they had even devastated the orange and fig plantations, and all those cool and shady retreats of Turkish indolence, so beautifully described by Lord Byron. In revenge the Turks on their return after the destruction of Missolonghi in 1827, with savage joy laid waste the city of the Greeks and stabled their horses in the beautiful Byzantine churches, eighty of which still adorned Christian Athens.

Descending the hill and forcing our way over the ruinous walls, we entered by the Peiræus gate and pressing forward to the market place, which seemed the only part of the modern town that had risen from its ashes, we met with crowds of people from all parts of the kingdom in their gaudy and picturesque costumes, who had assembled to salute their young King. There were the Albanian mountaineers; the tall and fierce looking *Arnauts* or *Skypetars*—in their white kilts and shaggy capotes; the more pacific Islanders in their Turkish turbans, wide trowsers and silken kaftans; and the half drunk, red-nosed Bavarians in their tight sky blue uniforms and glittering helmets—all were trafficking, smoking and drinking, or talking and shouting at the same time in their various dialects. Military music resounded through the narrow streets, and King Otho with his staff at the head of his Greek battalions marched proudly through the city from a review in the plain of the ancient academy of Plato.

A bustling activity prevailed throughout the town, and hundreds of Maltese and Zantiote workmen were clearing the thoroughfares from the rubbish and erecting temporary barracks for the soldiery and wooden houses for the numerous guests, whom every vessel brought from different parts of Greece and Turkey to the new capital.

This general confusion in which we found the city of The-sens in December, 1834, was occasioned by the sudden and unexpected removal of King Otho from Nauplion, before the necessary preparations had been made to receive him.

Among the three regents of the kingdom, who, during the minority of the King, had the absolute power in their hands, disputes and cabals had arisen about the new system of government, which was to be decided upon.* The question was now started: What city should be selected as the capital and residence of the court and departments of State?

The most economical advice was certainly that of Chevalier de Maurer, who proposed to remain at Nauplion, where government was placed in a central position, in the strongest fortress and the best built city of the kingdom, and possessed of all the necessary buildings for the public service.

Count Armansperg, on the contrary, insisted on the removal to Athens, the glorious capital of science and arts in ancient Hellas, while the great mass of the Greek nation preferred the Isthmos of Korinth as the most proper site for a new capital, because it was situated on a salubrious eminence, commanding both the Korinthian and Saronic gulfs, and had a fertile territory, which belonged to the State: while at Athens, on the contrary, government would be obliged to buy every span of ground to raise the public buildings.

The question was yet undecided, when Chevalier de Maurer was recalled to Germany, and Count Armansperg now proclaimed Athens the future Metropolis of Greece. Designs and plans for the re-building of the city were then laid down by the chief architects, Schaubert and Hansen and approved of by

* See our article on "Modern Greece," in the preceding number of the "Mercersburg Quarterly Review," page 442.

King Otho, who like his royal father, Lewis of Bavaria, took great interest in architecture.

But before the artists could arrive in Athens with their new plans and the royal order, the old Athenian citizens had already returned from their retreats in Salamis and Ægina, and begun to rebuild their ruinous dwellings in the old Turkish style, without paying any regard to the royal regulations, or placing any faith in the promise of future indemnification for the house-lots and gardens, they were to surrender for the use of the State.

In the midst of these conflicting interests the favorite architect of King Lewis of Bavaria, the Chevalier de Klenze, made his appearance in Greece with another scheme, overthrowing those of the Greek architects, although the latter, by profound studies on the spot, had worked out the only plan, which, if faithfully executed, would have reserved all the ground of the *ancient city of Athens*, around the Akropolis, for future excavations, and placed the *modern Capital* at a greater distance, on the north and east of the ruins. Contradictory orders were thus sent to Athens, and while Mr. Schaubert returned to Nauplion to make his protest at the seat of government, the Greeks, indifferent to all other considerations, save those of their own present profit, with great rapidity, continued to rebuild their stores and wooden shanties. In this manner many old streets remain to this day clustered together on the northern slope of the Akropolis, in a close and unhealthy situation, alike frustrating the hopes of the antiquarian and the architect!

By this unexpected removal of the court and administration to Athens, in December 1834, many curious accidents and mistakes happened, and the difficulty of obtaining lodgings became extreme, while the only Italian hotel of Signor Cazali, and all private dwelling houses were crowded with the foreign ambassadors, the household officers, the military, and the secretaries of the different departments of State. Yet none of all these worthies fared worse than the Turkish ambassador. No Greek would receive so detested a character. The only house left and which had been assigned to the Turk and his suite by the Greek

government, was owned and occupied by a widow, whose husband had fallen in the war, and who resolutely refused to let the *Keratas*, or horned fool, as she termed his crescented highness, so much as cross her threshold. With true Turkish stoicism the Mohammedan sat quietly down on the marble stairs, exclaiming, *Allah Kerim—ish Allah!* God is great—God's will be done,—and continued to smoke his pipe, while the exasperated descendant of Xanthippe poured forth from the house-top volleys of the most refined Athenian billingsgate! The gendarmes now advanced to break open the door and dislodge the owner. They found the Greek lady seated on her carpet, in the centre of her parlor and refusing to rise. With a polite bow to her ladyship each of the four soldiers took up a corner of the carpet, and thus conveyed her bodily out of the house and deposited her in the middle of the muddy street, where she continued scolding both Turks and Bavarians, until her relations came and took her along with them!

This was one of the many curious incidents, which at that time formed the topic of conversation at Athens. But in the course of six months a great change took place in the city and in a year or two, regular streets were laid out, the ruinous Byzantine churches repaired and opened for divine service; tribunals, schools, hospitals, barracks, and a vast number of elegant buildings erected, and the foundations laid for the royal palace and the university of regenerated Greece.

Athens has now a population of some thirty thousand inhabitants and a garrison of five thousand troops. Though it cannot be compared to the splendid cities of the United States, springing up as if by magic everywhere on the coasts and rivers of this magnificent continent—Athens, however, has peculiar charms of its own which all the wealth and industry of New York, Boston and Philadelphia cannot create. The climate of Attika is the finest in the world, and the situation of Athens on the slope of her Akropolis, looking down on the sea, and the gorgeous panorama of distant mountains may vie in picturesque beauty and grandeur with the celebrated sites of Naples and Constantinople, while its gigantic monuments from remote

antiquity soaring majestically above the modern dwellings unite all that is tasteful, elegant and perfect in the best period of ancient art, and the bright recollections of her wonderful history secure her the first rank as the universal metropolis of intellectual culture and political liberty.

Yet though the great crowd of foreigners, who during the winter of 1835 flocked to Athens, suffered the greatest hardships from want of lodgings and the exorbitant prices of the hotels, we Danes were received with open arms by our distinguished countrymen, the royal architect Christian Hansen, Dr. Lewis Ross and Major Christoph Fabricius, commander of the fortress of Nauplion,* who gave us a hearty welcome beneath their hospitable roofs.

Our investigations of the monuments of ancient Athens now began with incredible ardor. On a lovely, warm and sunny afternoon in January, I accompanied Major Fabricius and his lady to the Akropolis to review the temple ruins and enjoy the magnificent panorama of land and sea in the golden blaze of an

* The active and adventurous life of this brave Philhellene presents a series of the most extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune. Christoph Fabricius, the son of a physician from Plöen in Holstein, full of enthusiasm for the cause of Grecian independence, left with many other young students the University of Kiel and embarked in Marseilles for Greece 1823. He entered the corps of Philhellenes as a volunteer and distinguished himself not only by chivalrous bravery in every battle with the Turks, but by his modest behavior, his temperance and moral fortitude throughout all the hardships and sufferings of that bloody and protracted war. While hundreds of warlike youths, Germans, Danes, French and English perished either on the battle fields of Zeituni, Peta, Arta, the Peiræus and Chios, or were cut off by diseases and intemperance, Fabricius was among the few, who like the Generals Church and Pisa, the colonels Finlay, Reineck and Andreossi and the commodore Bromy obtained their rank and well earned laurels in the reorganized army and navy on the accession of King Otho I, in 1833. In a brilliant cavalry combat on the plain of Tripolitza, Fabricius at the head of a squadron of Greek lancers had charged and cut to pieces several battalions of Arab regulars of the army of Ibrahim Pasha and was promoted to the rank of captain on the battle field in 1825.

With his light battalion this able leader surrounded and destroyed in a desperate skirmish the Thessalian robber-bands on Mount Othrys in 1834, (see "Merceburg Quarterly Review" for April, 1854,) and as commander of the important Palamidi, the castle of Nauplion, his vigilance and integrity insured the safety of the young King and his Bavarian government. Yet during the virulent contest between Count Armanzperg and Chevalier de Maurer about the system of administration and the presidency of the Council, Major Fabricius unfortunately took the part of the latter, and on the defeat of that able statesman and his removal from Greece, the Danish Philhel-

Athenian sun-set. While we were wandering beneath the lofty columns of the Parthenon in pleasant conversation on remote antiquity and on the not less stirring events of the late war of independence, in which the Major, under the command of Colonel Fabvier, had so gallantly defended the Akropolis against the Turkish army of Reshied-Pasha, two Bavarian officers joined our party. It proved to be the young monarch accompanied by an adjutant. On my being presented to King Otho as a Danish traveler, who for literary purposes was visiting the Levant, his majesty in the frankest manner and without reserve displayed the inquisitive curiosity in architecture and archæology of his royal father, King Lewis of Bavaria, and I thus found a pleasant opportunity of communicating the result of my favorite studies to the sovereign of resuscitated Hellas in the very sanctuary of her choicest master works of art. A few days later I undertook an excursion into northern Greece in company with my friend Fabricius de Tengenagel, who had just arrived from Denmark. After a most interesting but fatiguing journey on horse-back through Bœotia, Phocis and Doris to the frontier of Thessaly, during which we were often exposed to danger from the mountain Klefts, and obliged to return by sea to Chalkis in Eubœa, we came back to Athens in the beginning of spring. Arriving late in the evening, hungry

lene had to encounter the perfidious hostility to the Count and his Bavarian adherents. A Bavarian Colonel was called to the command of the fortress; and Fabricius sent to Athens to serve as Major under the thick skulled Bavarian Colonel Glössman in one of the battalions of infantry. Nay, he was afterwards removed to Chalkis, where, oppressed with debts, he lingered in obscurity until the revolution of September, 1843. The staunch Northman, though surrounded by treacherous officers and seeing his troops with their bayonets pointed at his breast, would not abandon the cause of his liege lord. Surrendering his sword he went as prisoner of war to Athens, where, with the consent of King Otho, he swore allegiance to the Constitutional Government. But this chivalrous behavior of Fabricius, Tzavellas, and Genaios Kolokotronis incited the strongest animosity and fear of the victorious party of Kaleris and the Constitutionlists. In October they excited the Pallikars and mob at Athens, against these faithful and brave officers. Kolokotronis and Tzavellas fought their way to the Peiræus sword in hand; Fabricius escaped likewise in the coach of the Austrian ambassador, and succeeded after many dangers to join his wife and child in Smyrna. Thence he, like the other Danes in Grecian service, was honorably recalled by King Christian VI, in 1844, and placed as Colonel of Cavalry in the Danish army. Nay, the monarch to shew him his particular favor sent him as extraordinary envoy to the court of King

and fatigued, I went to the Italian hotel of Signor Cazali, where I met quite a number of Bavarian officers at their supper. As usual the conversation went high against the capacity and integrity of the Greek officials in the provinces and the character and manners of that nation in general. Yet from actual observation I had found the condition of the people and the country far better than I had expected, and I therefore refuted the Bavarians as well with regard to single facts or characters as to their erroneous criticism of the Greek nation in general. Some of the King's adjutants were present, who seemed pleased with my defensive arguments, and great was my astonishment next morning when I received a letter from Count Hunoldstein, in which he stated that the King desired to see me at a private audience in the afternoon. King Otho asked me some questions on my travels in the provinces and expressed a wish that I would prolong my stay in Greece and enter the service, and indeed a few months later I was ordered by General Lesuire, the minister of the war-department, to go to the island of Ægina and report myself to Colonel Reineck, President of the Military College of the Evelpides to which I had been attached as Professor of History and Modern Languages. Thus I became at once established in the land of my predilection.

On the arrival of the Regency at Athens the care of the antiquities of the Akropolis had been awarded to the distinguish-

Otho, with the ratification of a treaty of commerce between Denmark and Greece and the great cross of the Order of Danebrog for King Otho and other distinctions for his Councillors and Generals. Thus the triumph of Colonel Fabricius was complete by his appearance as the military envoy of a foreign King in Athens, from which he had been so unjustly exiled by revolutionary party spirit and Grecian ingratitude. On his return to Denmark, however, he found his position more difficult than ever; the hatred between Danes and Holsteiners and the miserable contest about the nationality of Schleswig already approached their height. We have ourselves often witnessed the disdainful manner in which the Danish officers treated the Greek Philhellene, the Holsteiner, who by favor of the King bore their uniform. On the death of King Christian VIII, in 1848, and the outbreak of the rebellion in Holstein, Colonel Fabricius, stung to the quick by the hostility of his colleagues in Copenhagen, left the city and returned to his native duchy, but he did not draw his sword against his King, and lives now in obscure but unmerited exile in Hamburg, where he in the bosom of domestic happiness, at the side of an admirable wife (a Countess de Rosen) and a lovely daughter, contemplates the inconstancy of fortune, and perhaps writes his memoirs of the most romantic and successful national struggle of our century.

ed Archæologist and Historian, Dr. Lewis Ross from Holstein, as General Conservator of the Akropolis, and the Architects, Edward Schaubert and Christian Hansen, while a sum of twelve thousand drachms was assigned for the excavations, which were continued for several years with great success.

The first monument of antiquity presenting itself to the traveler, on his approach from the coast, is the beautiful temple of Theseus—the *Theseum*. It is situated on a sloping hill on the north west and commands a magnificent view of the city and the Akropolis. This temple is the best preserved monument in Athens, having not only all its columns, its cell, but even the delicate sculptures of its friezes, and the roof, which during the middle ages, had been vaulted over, when the temple was dedicated as a Christian church to Saint George.

It is built of the purest, white Pentelic marble in the severe old Doric style, with a single peristyle, of thirteen columns in the flanks and six in each of the fronts. The elevation of the temple from the pavement to the apex of the pediment is only thirty-three feet, while that of the Parthenon is sixty-five feet, and that of the immense temple of the Olympian Jove, is eighty-five feet. Its solid, yet elegant form is admirable, and the loveliness of its coloring is such that from the rich mellow hues, which the marble has assumed in the course of centuries, it looks as if it had been quarried, not from a bed of rocky mountains, but from the golden light of an Athenian sun-set.

The history of this temple is very interesting. It was built in the glorious days of the Athenian republic, in the first year of the seventy-eight Olympiad, B. C. 468, twenty-two years after the victory over the Persians at Marathon.

A tradition was current at the time, that Theseus had been seen fighting at the head of the Athenian columns against the Persians on that celebrated field, and when the oracle of Apollo at Delphi commanded the Athenians to search for the earthly relics of their Founder, who had perished an exile on the island of Skyros in the Ægean, Kimon, the valiant son of Miltiades, was sent off with the fleet to chastise the wild pirates of

Skyros and take possession of their island. The expedition was successful; and when Kimon discovered an ancient sepulchre, containing arms and human remains, supposed to be those of the Attic hero, he carried them in triumph to Athens and instituted a religious festival in honor of Theseus. The splendid temple was then built on that hill, where Theseus, according to ancient tradition, in a bloody battle had vanquished the warlike Amazons from Pontus, who were attacking Athens and had made peace with their queen Antiope. An asylum or sacred enclosure was united with the temple, where slaves, who had been ill-treated by their masters, sought refuge, and Plutarch says: that the Athenians held the Theseum in as high a repute as the Parthenon on the Akropolis itself.

Theseus was the most celebrated hero of Attika, but he did not enjoy for himself alone the undivided honors of his sanctuary. He generously admitted Hercules, (Herakles,) the faithful friend and companion of his earthly toils to a share of his posthumous glory.

On the eastern facade of the temple all the metopes are occupied with the labors of Hercules, while eight others on the sides present deeds of Theseus himself.

To these sculptures we may refer the beautiful passage in the tragedy, *Hercules furens* of Euripides, in which Theseus offers a refuge to his banished and despairing companion, Herakles: "Leave Thebes—come to Athens and share my wealth; my kingdom shall henceforth be sacred to thee and bear thy name while living; but when thou art descended to the shades below, then I shall celebrate thy virtues with sacrifices, and splendid sculptures shall in Athens forever proclaim thy noble deeds."

Two groups of the most perfect beauty, in bold relief adorn the frieze of the *pronaos* and *posticum*, or the two porticoes of the temple and represent well known exploits of the Attic hero. On the western facade of the cell his victory over the *Centauræ*—the fabulous horsemen, or *manhors* of Thessaly—and on the east the defeat and death of Eurystheus, the tyrant of Mykenæ, in the presence of the Olympian gods.

Eurystheus, the usurper of the royal inheritance of Hercules, had entered Attika at the head of an army and demanded the surrender of the fugitive children of Hercules, the Herakleidæ, who had found a refuge in Marathon with the hospitable Athenians. Theseus refused the demand and in a battle near Pallene in the plain of Athens, vanquished the haughty invader, who was pursued and slain on the Skironian rocks near Megara, where his sepulchre was shown to Pausanias in after times.

We mention this interpretation of the celebrated frieze, because it is new and correct, yet differing from those of all earlier antiquarians.* It, at the same time, proves a highly remarkable historical fact. Kimon, the son of Miltiades, as the leader of the conservative party in Athens, desiring the consolidation of the Solonian constitution, was the builder of this temple. His political maxim was: Peace and alliance with Sparta and the Dorians, and eternal war with the Barbarians.

By thus uniting the worship and veneration of the hero and founder of the Athenian State, with that of Hercules, the great ancestor of the Spartan kings, the Herakleidæ, he intended to secure the union and alliance of the Ionian and Dorian confederacies. In this wise plan he succeeded at the time; but the ambitious Perikles, denouncing him to the people as a flatterer, and friend of the Lakonians, as—a *Philolakon*—his exile from Athens, and the victory of the popular party soon kindled destructive civil feuds in Greece—the first Peloponnesian war.

We must here mention an important discovery made during the latter years at the temple of Theseus and in general at the Doric temples from the Perikleian era, which may appear very startling at first, but which is now placed beyond any doubt by the ablest architects in Greece. It is the fact, that the ancient Greeks in the most palmy days of their art *painted* their stat-

* It is that of Henry Ulrichs, Professor of Latin Language and Literature at the University of Athens. This distinguished teacher died on the 10th of October, 1843, during the revolutionary movements at the capital. See his interesting dissertation on the temple of Theseus; *Spiegazione de' monumenti sul Pronaos del Theseum*. Roma 1841.

uary and their temples; and that they heightened the effect of their architecture by *painted ornaments* and by decorations of bronze and gilding.

The celebrated British architects, Stuart and Rivett, remarked in 1751 some indication of colors and delicate painted ornaments in different parts of the western portico of the Parthenon, but they did not pay any particular attention to them. The first discovery was made in Sicily, where the metopes and part of the entablature of the Doric Temple at Selinus were found painted with a bright *minium* or red-lead color.

Numerous dissertations were afterwards written on which attempt to prove, that in a period *anterior* to Phidias, the Doric temples in Hellas were covered with a coating of bright and dazzling colors; but that on the temples on the Akropolis, painting was only employed to give relief to the sculptures and to adorn the less prominent members of architecture. The most ancient specimen of a *completely* painted temple is that of Minerva on the Island of Ægina. There the cell was of a bright minium; the pediments were blue, the mouldings of the entablature green and yellow; and the two groups of statues from its pediments, at the present day forming the choicest treasure of the Museum at Munich in Bavaria, were all incrustated with brilliant colors.*

The temple of Theseus still shows upon the whole external surface well preserved remains of a coating of color. We discovered the brightest red, an azure blue, green, vermilion and slight traces of gilding. The high reliefs of the pediments are painted and a sitting figure in the eastern frieze has its drapery incrustated with a beautiful rose-tint; while the ground of the frieze was blue. Stuart already remarked the star in the coffers of the ceilings; we found the stars gilt on an azure ground. All the mouldings and small fascia were ornamented in the most elegant style with flowers and arabesques.

The whole external wall of the cell was blue on the flanks,

* See our Monography of the Island of Ægina in "Mereersburg Quarterly Review," Vol. V, 1853, page 386, et seq.

and red on the eastern and western front, according to the opinion of Chevalier de Schaubert.

Some architects pretend even that the marble columns of the peristyle were painted and that the golden hues with which they are endued were produced by paint. Chemical experiments were made by Professor Landerer of the University at Athens, but no certain result obtained, and we therefore believe that the columns were *not painted*, and that the colonades, by the glittering whiteness of the marble, contributed to heighten the picturesque effect of the richly painted cell and pedements of the temple itself.

On the other hand it now appears certain that the ancient Athenian artists sometimes substituted *painted figures* on their temples for sculptured groups in high relief. This was the case on the temple of Theseus, where part of the metopes, representing the deeds of Theseus, were painted. Among the many sculptured sepulchral monuments found in the Nekropolis or burial grounds at the Peiræus, several marble columns are *painted* with the figures of the mourning family taking leave of the deceased.

The hill of the Theseum, now forms an entire museum where numerous statues, sarcophagi, and other antiquities, are placed in picturesque variety within and around the ancient sanctuary. It was here that a most beautiful and touching scene took place on the 10th of December, 1834, when King Otho on his arrival at Athens, on the marble steps of the ancient temple of the first founder of his kingdom, was welcomed by the Bishop of Attica, the venerable Neophytas, the clergy and an immense concourse of joyful Greeks, who hailed the young monarch as the harbinger of peace and happiness to their distracted and desolated native land.

Instead of descending to the monuments of the lower city, which we shall describe in a subsequent article, we must at present invite the attention of our readers to the Castle-Hill, and exclaim with Lukian, "Come let us mount the glittering Akropolis that we may take a grand and extensive view of this magnificent city." For such indeed was Athens in the time of the Syrian philosopher, toward the close of the second Christian era.

We descend through the valley west of the Theseion and the Areopagos or Hill of Mars, which in the times of Perikles formed the ancient *Agora* or market place—the centre of the political activity and movement of the Athenian democracy. We then turn toward the east and ascend the slope of the now demolished Turkish cemetery, where heaps of white turbaned columns still are lying around, to the tower or outward gate of the fortress, the only entrance of which being to this day as in antiquity, on the western side of the rock. This front of the Akropolis was formerly embellished by a number of temples and sanctuaries, in a grand and picturesque style, surrounding the market place at the base of the Areopagos.

Here Pausanias, in his time, admired the temple of Mars, the colossal statues of the tyrant-killers, Harmiodios and Aristogeiton, the temples of Venus and Æsculapios, and immediately below the precipice, and the sepulchre of King Ægæus, the fond old father, who on the rock was awaiting the happy return of his beloved Theseus from Crete—and on discovering his ship with *black* sails, advancing from cape Sunion, precipitated himself from the rock and perished.

Akropolis, signifies city on a hill, or castle. In the early times, when the Pelasgian inhabitants of Attika began to settle down into towns, the sea and adjacent coasts were rendered insecure by pirates. To obviate these dangers, the first settlers built their cities on steep eminences, at a distance from the sea shore; they fortified the more accessible parts, and placed the sanctuaries of their gods on the most commanding site. In the plain below, before the gates of their stronghold, was the general place of resort, where the traffic with their neighbors went on. From a market place soon a flourishing city sprung up, and, as the inhabitants increased in numbers and wealth, the lower town, called Katopolis, was inclosed by a second more extensive wall, and thus the ancient settlement on the hill, in opposition to the more recent one in the plain, was called the Akropolis.

Athens, like Rome and Constantinople, is situated on and between seven hills, which slope off towards the fertile plain

below. Kekrops, the founder of the earliest perhaps Egyptian settlement, did not choose the most elevated hill on the east, the Lykabettos—because it terminates in a peak—but he selected the rock on the south, which presented the most extensive level on its summit, and the most precipitous walls on its flanks. It forms an immense rectangular limestone block, rising abruptly for more than 400 feet above the plain, in the form of a coffin or larnax, as the Greeks call it. The rock is 1,000 paces in length from northwest to southeast, and half that distance in breadth. Being precipitous on three sides, the only access is on the west, where we plainly distinguish the ancient Hellenic fortifications—the Pelasgian wall—from the more modern bastions and towers, which still defend the entrance.

In the primitive ages of the Kekrops and Theseus, the Akropolis was the capital of the Athenian people.

Peisistratos, and his son Hippias, the tyrant, made it the fortress and stronghold of despotic power; but afterwards, in the brightest days of the Athenian democracy, the Akropolis became the sanctuary of the gods and heroes—the sacred inclosure, the treasury of the nation, and the museum of its proudest master-peices of art. It was the heart of Athens, as Athens herself was the heart of all Hellas; and it was with grateful feelings of acknowledgment to the young monarch who ascended the throne of Greece, that the modern Hellenes hailed the royal decree, which ordered all the military array and all the implements of war to be removed, and the Akropolis again to be reinstated in its old prerogative, as the Sacred Museum of the Greek nation.

But in what miserable condition was this interesting spot, when the Turks left it in April, 1833! The whole interior platform presented one mass of ruins, from which arose the shattered columns of the temples, an awful burial ground of the hundreds of Christians and Moslems, who had perished during the sieges; even the cisterns were then filled with putrid corpses, and for several years afterwards the Greek widows continued to disinter, at different places, the skeletons of their fallen husbands or sons.

Yet a renewed life and movement soon began—the whole interior platform was cleared of the ruinous Mosques, Seraglios and other modern buildings, and when the Greek director of the excavations, Signor Pittakis in 1837, began to demolish the four tiers of Turkish batteries, fronting the western ascent, many precious ancient sculptures, inscriptions, and solid structures re-appeared from among the rubbish.*

In front, the splendid gateway of Perikles—the celebrated *Propylæa*, with all their columns still standing. On the north, the flanking pavilion, the ancient Picture Gallery, or *Pinakothekē*; on the south, the elegant and beautiful Ionic temple of the wingless Goddess of Victory, and, on the ascent, the pedestal of the Equestrian Statue of Marcus Agrippa, the Roman General and friend of Augustus, were all cleared of the masonry and restored to day-light.

The broad, sloping carriage-road, which ascended the rock in front of the *Propylæa*, was laid open, and it was still found paved with large marble slabs, having grooves for the safer footing of the horses.

Only one high tower, built by the French Dukes of Athens, in the beginning of the 13th century, was left standing, because

* The excavations during the years 1834–36, were conducted by Doctor Lewis Ross as *General Conservator of Antiquities*. Yet the learned antiquarian who stood in correspondence with the most distinguished Savans and artists of Germany, confined his activity only to the environs of the Parthenon, where the soil in some places was dug away to the depth of twenty-five feet. Several curious antiquities from the earlier temple, the *Hekatompedon*, were found, and a number of inscriptions copied and published in Germany; but the Doctor having, in 1835, gained an easy victory over the ministry of war and triumphantly driven the military with arms and baggage from the sanctuary of Pallas Athene, soon began to consider this conquest as his own. He forgot the latter part of his title and commanding the Invalid-guard of the Akropolis like a *general*—he shut the gates against the Greek citizens, the travelers and even the Architects—and kept the mysteries of the sanctuary to himself and his German correspondents, August Boeckh in Berlin and Professor Gerhardt in Rome. This proud bearing gave great displeasure to the Greeks, who though they do not understand much about the works of their ancestors, are yet fond of making a show of their gods and heroes in the most high sounding language, and when in 1836 a curious dispute occurred between Dr. Ross and his assistant, the Under Conservator, Mr. Pittakis, an Athenian antiquary, (married to a sister of Lord Byron's *Fair Maid of Athens*,) the storm broke loose against the Doctor. Pittakis perceiving that so many inscriptions were published in Germany, supposed that this was a lucrative affair, and like a true Yankee, he wanted to partake in the profits. He, therefore, put himself in direct correspondence with the enthusiastic Hellenists of Germany

its height and huge dimensions produces the most picturesque effect, as it rises in bold relief against the azure sky, and forms a remarkable feature in the scenery.

The Ionic temple of Nike Apteros, or of the wingless Goddess of Victory, with its four slender columns in each front, has been rebuilt with its cell and architrave; but, most unhappily, it was found impossible to replace the entire frieze with its beautiful sculptures, because four slabs with bas-reliefs had earlier been transported to London by Lord Elgin, the plunderer of the Akropolis. Many magnificent sculptures were, however found, representing the battle of Marathon, on which we can distinguish the Persian horsemen in their loose, flowing garments and high tiaras, from the heavy armed Athenian foot soldiers, or Hoplitæ, with shields and helmets.

The magnificent portico of the Propylæa forms a front of six Doric columns of white Pentelic marble, with a projecting pavilion or wing on each side, north and south, which have three Doric columns placed *in antis*, or as the Greeks say, *ἐν ἀντιστοιχίᾳ*, indicating that the columns were flanked by two pilasters.

The northern wing contained, as we have mentioned, the Picture Gallery or Pinakothekē. Pausanias mentions a number of highly celebrated pictures, which were still preserved in

and sent them copies of Attic inscriptions. Being well paid, the crafty Athenian in order to make more money, cut the inscriptions to pieces and sent one part to Berlin and another to Rome. This produced the greatest controversy among the Savans; the most ridiculous guesses, doubts and suppositions were started—until at last Professor August Boeckh in Berlin, discovered the fraud and made a just complaint to Dr. Ross. What a crime! thus to deceive the learned world, and lead the Philologists on a wrong track! Yet the Greeks laughed heartily at the money making Pittakis—the contest became most virulent, the Athenian journals were filled with the attack and defence, and Count Armansperg, the High Chancellor, during the absence of King Otho, in order to flatter the Greeks at a time when his administration was verging to a close, placed Dr. Ross as professor of Archæology at the newly established Othonian University, and O! wonder, entrusted the Akropolis and its hidden treasures to the pilfering Mr. Pittakis. The latter, to regain his reputation, immediately threw open the Akropolis to the public, and placing several hundred workmen at the excavations, within less than three months cleared the avenues of the Turkish batteries, laid open the magnificent Propylæa and discovered there the temple of Victory, numerous sculptures, interesting inscriptions—and astonished Athens hailed with joy and pride the glorious deeds of her native Antiquary.

his day; such as the youthful Achilles among the virgins of Skyros, and Ulysses meeting the princess Nausikaa and her hand-maidens at the fountain, painted by Polygnotos.

The opposite southern Pavilion was supposed to have formed the guard house for the garrison of the Akropolis, which thus placed on the flank of an assaulting enemy would attack his right side unprotected by the shield. During the late excavations, this interesting fact was ascertained beyond a doubt, several curious inscriptions having been disinterred on the base of the outer wall, containing the names of officers and soldiers who served as *Akrophylakes* or Guardians of the Akropolis. Yet further discoveries could not be made here, as the entire southern pavilion of the Propylæa is built up in the high square tower of the Crusaders, which as we said, has still been left standing, while destruction has fallen on all the Byzantine, Venetian and Othonian accessories of the Castle.

We now enter into the Propylæa, which are divided into two large halls or galleries by a double row of Ionian columns, leaving in the middle a passage for the cars and horsemen of the great Panathenaic Procession.

The opposite or eastern front, facing the interior of the Castle, is formed by a Doric Colonnade of six columns, similar to that facing the ascent on the west. This skilful union of the Doric and Ionic order of architecture is of a happy invention, of the most beautiful effect, and has always been the admiration and study of the architects.

Mnesikles, the Athenian, was the great artist whom Perikles entrusted with a work, which has formed a splendid period in the annals of art. It was begun in the year 437 B. C., and was finished in five years. From the time of its erection all communication between the city below and the castle, took place through these marble halls, of which the central one, between the two Ionic colonnades, was only opened to processions and on solemn occasions. This interesting fact has been proved by the late excavations in the south-western corner of the Akropolis, behind the Gothic tower, which prove that an oblique wall of great strength, and other buildings closed up the whole

space between the southern wing of the Propylæa and the Castle wall.

The construction of the Propylæa commemorates the most happy and brilliant period of Athenian history. They were, according to the universal opinion of antiquity, regarded as the proudest ornament of Athens, while the Panathenaic procession, so beautifully represented on the frieze of the Parthenon, was deemed the most solemn festival of the nation. Therefore Aristophanes says, that the fond Athenian mothers held out to their warlike sons the distant glorious day when they, among the armed youths (*Epheboi*), by their valor and excellent conduct, should be found worthy to guide their festal chariot through THIS Gate-way into the Sanctuary of Pallas Athene.

Hate and envy—*Misos kai Phthonos*—these strong feelings, so deeply rooted in the hearts of the ancient Greeks and their modern descendants—excited the other tribes of Hellas against Athens. Thebes, at the close of the unhappy Peloponnesian war—demanded the destruction of the Propylæa and the humiliation of Athens—but proud and wary Sparta, fearing her new Theban ally, refused, and when, some years afterwards, Epaminondas, the great Theban general, the Washington of antiquity, in Æolian the Assembly, desired to rouse the Boeotian League, he exclaimed, "O! ye warriors of Thebes, you must uproot the Propylæa of the Athenian Akropolis and plant them here on the castle of Cadmus."

Lucius Cornelius Sylla himself, the cold and cruel Roman, in his victorious career, after deluging the Athenian city with blood, stopped here in admiration of Hellenic genius and pronounced the celebrated words:

"Let pardon be granted to the Athenians on account of the glorious works of their great ancestors;" and the sacred precincts of the Akropolis were saved and stand here before us at the present day.

They now form the great national museum where, among numberless marble fragments of statuary and bas-reliefs, we find a precious collection of several hundred inscriptions, many of which are of the highest importance for the illustration of the history of Athens. Such, for instance,

is the register with the names of the 800 cities of the *Ægean*, the *Hellespont*, and *Asia Minor*, which, during the brilliant supremacy of Athens, paid their yearly tribute in the treasury, of the *Parthenon*, for the prosecution of the Persian war.

Through the gateway we now enter upon the broad platform of the *Akropolis*. Of all the ancient monuments which occupied the interior, according to the interesting and minute description of *Pausanias*, only two have survived the storms of time—the *Parthenon* and the *Erechtheion*, which latter consisted of the *Temples of Minerva Polias* and of *Neptune*, united in one.

On entering the castle in 1834, we found the whole space between the *Propylæa* and the *Parthenon* filled up with narrow lanes, crumbling Turkish houses and broken minarets, above which arose the majestic columns of the most perfect building of classic antiquity. The entire ground of the platform has now been cleared of the modern ruins and rubbish and one hundred and fifty paces forward will bring us in front of the western façade of the *Parthenon*.

Other temples of remote antiquity, such as, for instance, that of *Apollo Pythius* at *Delphoi*, and that of *Diana* at *Ephesos* in *Ionia*, were larger or more magnificent, but they have vanished from the face of the earth, and the *Parthenon* now remains as the most renowned structure in *Hellas*, as the triumph of the most exquisite architecture, the pride and glory of the Athenians, and, as it were, the true centre of their nationality, which after the storms of twenty-three centuries—after the destructive wars of the Middle Ages, the shells of Count *Morosini* the Venetian and the sacrilegious robberies of Lord *Elgin*, the *Scott*—still presents its beautiful colonnades on the hallowed rock, as the most noble, the most elegant and most exalting testimony of all that human will and union, that human energy and genius ever were able to create—and surely there is not a traveler who would approach such a monument without the sincerest admiration and the most intense delight.

[*To be continued.*]

ART. IV.—LITURGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

FORMULA FOR CONFIRMATION.

[The import of the Rite. } Confirmation is that rite by which such as have been baptized in their infancy, do personally and publicly ratify and assume the duties of their covenant relation to God in Christ, and accordingly have confirmed unto them the blessings guaranteed in their baptism, and are solemnly admitted to the full privileges of Church fellowship.]

[Qualifications for confirmation } Before admitting applicants to this rite, care shall be taken by the minister and elders of the congregation, that they be duly instructed beforehand, in the doctrines and duties of religion, as set forth in the standards of the Church, evidences whereof shall be given by a brief public examination, to be held on the Sabbath next preceding the administration of the Lord's Supper, or in case this is not convenient, immediately before the service, held preparatory to the observance of the Holy Sacrament.]

On the day appointed for the confirmation, the persons to be confirmed, being plainly and decently attired, shall occupy the seats next before the altar or pulpit; and the minister, after the regular devotions are concluded, and the delivery of a short, appropriate sermon, taking his place at the altar or table in front of the pulpit, shall address the congregation as follows:]

ADDRESS TO THE CONGREGATION.

“The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all.”

Beloved in the Lord: These young persons who now appear before you, present themselves as fellow-heirs with us of the grace of God in Jesus Christ. In their infancy they were incorporated with Christ and His Church by Holy Baptism. They have been reared amid the privileges of the Gospel, and subject to its sacred influences. They have been also specially instructed by us in the knowledge of Divine truth, and the duties of Christian piety. The grace thus bestowed upon them they trust has not been enjoyed in vain, but has led them by the way of repentance towards God, to hearty faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. They desire, therefore, to be admitted to par-

ticipation with us in the Holy Supper and other privileges of full membership in the Christian Church, in order that they may thus be united in closer and firmer fellowship with their Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. And to give evidence of their repentance and faith, and also of their sincere purpose henceforth to live unto Him who died for them; and further to assure you of their determination by the grace of God to continue steadfast in the faith against all temptations unto death, they here present themselves publicly before God and this congregation, to make their solemn profession and vow. And as our Lord Jesus Christ calls and commands all who feel their infirmities, and the heavy burden of their sins, to come unto Him for rest; and hath also instituted His Holy Supper for the special comfort and confirmation of such in their faith and love; it becomes us to welcome all who penitently and believingly seek the rich blessings of Divine grace, extended unto them through His holy Church.

We affectionately beseech you, therefore, that whilst you witness this solemn transaction with gratitude and joy, and extend the hand of brotherly love towards these our dear young brethren and sisters in the Lord, you may also fervently pray for the more abundant outpouring of the grace of God upon them, that they may be sustained and comforted in this holy profession of their faith and solemn consecration of themselves to the love and obedience of God their Saviour.

[After this address the catechumens, as they are severally called by name, shall come forth, and standing in front of the altar, be addressed as follows:]

My Dear young Friends:—You have this day presented yourselves at the altar of the Lord for the purpose of renewing your holy Baptismal covenant, of personally assuming its obligations and duties, and of receiving at our hands the solemn confirmation of the inestimable blessings and privileges vouchsafed in that covenant. Henceforth the sacred vows, under which your parents and sponsors rested on your behalf, and to the righteousness and binding authority of which you hereby give your voluntary assent, must be borne and redeemed

by yourselves. By the public profession you this day make, you acknowledge before this witnessing congregation, and in the sight of God, your guilt and condemnation as sinners ; you avow your sincere repentance of all your iniquities ; and you declare your hearty faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, as the only and allsufficient Saviour of sinners. In the name of the Holy Triune God, and of His holy Church, we welcome you to this solemn consecration of yourselves to the service of the Lord your Redeemer. And whilst we praise the Lord that the grace bestowed upon you in your baptism has not been cast away through unbelief ; we would fervently pray that the confirmation thereof, which you now so devoutly seek, may be divinely sealed unto your final redemption.

Let us pray :

Most merciful, covenant-keeping God, we heartily thank and praise Thee, that Thou hast called us all to the knowledge of Thyself and of Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord ; and especially that Thou hast permitted these Thy sons and daughters to be reared in the Christian Church, and admitted by Holy Baptism into the communion of the same. They now appear in Thy most holy presence in order to renew their baptismal covenant with Thee, to make confession of their faith, and to be admitted to the full privileges of Christian fellowship. O Lord, remember, we beseech Thee, Thy covenant of mercy unto them, help them by Thy Holy Spirit to witness a sincere profession before the Church and the world ; accept of their humble and hearty consecration of themselves unto Thee ; ratify in heaven what we shall now do in Thy name upon earth ; and evermore comfort and assist them by Thy divine grace, that they may prove faithful unto death, and then pass over from the enjoyment of the privileges of the Church on earth, which are at best but " shadows of good things to come," to the full fruition of their substance in heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[Then the minister, addressing the catechumens, shall call upon them to answer, in a distinct voice, the following questions, and audibly to repeat with him the articles of the Creed.]

And now, beloved young friends, that you may give public testimony of your faith in Jesus Christ and His gospel, and of your sincere resolution to live in all things according to its requirements, I call upon you truly and distinctly to answer the following questions :

1. Do you heartily renounce the devil and all his works and ways, and all wordly vanities and wickedness ?

Answer. I do utterly renounce them.

2. Do you sincerely believe and accept all the doctrines of our Holy Religion, as they are set forth in the articles of our undoubted Christian faith, and in the standards of this Christian Church ?

Answer. I do believe them with all my heart.

Minister. In further testimony of this your faith, repeat these articles with me, sincerely saying :

I believe in God, the Father Almighty, &c.

3. Finally, do you hereby solemnly devote yourself, body and soul, to the obedience of Christ and His Church, according to the word of God, and promise diligently to use the means divinely appointed in the Church, for growth in faith, and knowledge, and piety, and to persevere in so doing against all temptations, until by the grace of God you reach a blessed end, faithfully holding to all that you have here professed ?

Answer. God helping I do thus vow and promise.

[The minister shall then call upon them to kneel down, and laying his hand upon the head of each one shall say :]

Upon this solemn profession of your faith, I herewith confirm unto you the grace and promises of the gospel, and receive you into full communion with the Church of Jesus Christ. May God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, grant unto you His grace, defend and protect you against all sin, strengthen you in all piety, and having wholly sanctified you, bring you finally to His heavenly kingdom, for the sake of the merits of our only Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

[Instead of the above benediction, the minister may use at pleasure either of the Apostolic benedictions, or some other appropriate Scripture, such as, "The God of all grace, who hath called us unto His

eternal glory by Jesus Christ, make you perfect, stablish, strengthen, settle you, and keep you, through faith unto everlasting life," &c., &c.

This being done, they shall rise from their knees, and the minister, with one or two of the elders, passing around shall extend to each the right hand of Christian fellowship, the minister saying:]

Having thus received the profession of your faith, and heard your solemn vows, we, the minister and elders of this congregation, herewith, in the name and by the authority of Christ and His Church, extend unto you the right hand of Christian fellowship, embrace you as brethren and sisters of our holy communion, and welcome you to all the rights and privileges of membership in the Christian Church. May the God of all grace and consolation perfect you in every good word and work, make you a blessing and ornament to this congregation, and bring you at last to the general assembly of the firstborn in heaven. Amen.

[The persons confirmed shall now be directed to resume their seats, after which the minister shall briefly address the congregation as follows:]

Beloved in the Lord, having now witnessed and participated in the solemn rite, by which these young brethren and sisters have been admitted into our holy communion, you have been reminded of your own covenant relation to God. Receive them, therefore, into your more intimate Christian fellowship, as fellow-guests at the table of the Lord, and as fellow-heirs with you of eternal life. Resolve with renewed zeal, faithfully to labor for the promotion of your own and their salvation. You have heard their vows and promises. Be solemnly reminded of those by which you are pledged to love and serve the Lord and one another. Especially remember, that as you have received them into your communion by the right hand of Christian fellowship, you are solemnly bound to care and pray for their welfare, as common members with you of the mystical body of Christ. And as this is not a matter of human power and skill, it may well become us to call once more unitedly upon God for the assistance of His Holy Spirit, that He may bring to a gracious and glorious consummation the good work begun in our souls.

Let us pray.

[The minister may here offer a voluntary prayer, concluding with the Lord's prayer. After this the congregation shall sing an appropriate psalm or hymn, and then be dismissed with the Benediction.]

OF THE HOLY SUPPER OF OUR LORD.

[The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper should be administered in each congregation at least four times annually. And it is also recommended that the earlier custom of celebrating it upon the Festival Sabbaths, Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas, (when this occurs upon a Sabbath,) be generally observed.

The nature and object of this Holy Sacrament clothe it with peculiar solemnity. It is meet therefore that all who desire to participate in it, should earnestly prepare themselves for so doing, according to the admonition of the holy apostle Paul. Whenever, therefore, it is resolved to administer the Lord's Supper in a congregation, the officiating minister shall give due public notice thereof, so that the members may be warned in time, and afforded full opportunity of removing any hindrances that may be lying in their way, and of seeking by repentance, faith, and reformation, that fitness of heart and life which this sacred ordinance requires.

And the better to aid in securing this, a special preparatory service shall be held in the church, on the day preceding the communion, which all communicants shall be exhorted to attend; and none who, without good reason, neglect this service should be permitted to unite in the Holy Supper on the following day. The order of worship for this occasion shall be the same as usual, the sermon, however, being suited directly to the object of the service. Instead of the prayer after the sermon, a part of an appropriate hymn shall be sung, at the close of which, the minister having taken his place before the altar or communion table, shall address the communicants as follows:]

FORMULA FOR THE PREPARATORY SERVICE.

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all."

Beloved in the Lord: Through the great mercy of God our heavenly Father, we are brought to the eve of another Holy Communion season. We expect on the morrow once more to surround the table of the Lord, and celebrate together the Sacrament of His atoning Body and Blood. We have again heard the invitation, "Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy laden," and desire to embrace it. But as none can do so worthily or comfortably, unless they are truly at peace with God, through repentance for their sins, and sincere faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, it well becomes us honestly to search our

hearts, and ascertain in the light of God's word, and by the help of the Holy Spirit, whether we are indeed in this state of grace. For we may rest assured, that although we may suffer ourselves to be deceived, God cannot be mocked, and that such self-deception, whilst it deprives us of present peace, must minister to our future and eternal shame and misery.

The word of God admonishes us more especially to examine ourselves with reference to the following three points, to which accordingly we entreat you to give prayerful heed :

In the first place. We are admonished to consider, whether we are duly sensible of our guilt and misery as sinners, and whether we are heartily humble and contrite on account of our many and grievous transgressions. For unless we are thus abased in our own eyes, and made ashamed of our own righteousness, we cannot hunger and thirst after the grace and mercy, represented and offered in the Holy Supper, unto all penitent believers. And lest our deceitful hearts should mislead us in this matter, we are exhorted to compare our lives with the law of God, especially as set forth in its true spirit and substance in the summary thereof given by our blessed Saviour, viz : "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, with all thy soul, with all thy mind, and with all thy strength ; and thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Weighed in this balance who is not found wanting ? These commandments we have never fulfilled ; but on the contrary we have violated them continually in thought, word, and deed, by sinning against God and our neighbor, and are, therefore, justly liable to the righteous wrath of God, and to eternal death as the merited reward of our transgressions, and have severally need to cry out, "God be merciful unto me a sinner."

In the next place. We are required to examine ourselves and see whether we embrace with believing hearts all the benefits and blessings offered in the gospel to truly contrite souls, and sincerely accept of the plan of salvation which God has thus freely provided for us. True faith requires us assuredly to believe, that as the justice of God will not suffer sin to go unpunished, the eternal Son of God was sent into the world,

so that taking upon Himself a real human body and soul, He might bear for us in the same, the full punishment of our sins, and the wrath of God which we had merited. Furthermore, we must believe the certain promise of the Gospel, that the satisfaction which Jesus made for sin by His perfect atonement, is assuredly granted unto every one who in true repentance and faith accepts thereof; and especially that each one of us, by thus embracing Christ and His merits, receives the full forgiveness of all his sins, and is covered with and possesses, the complete righteousness of Jesus Christ, notwithstanding our personal unworthiness and the many infirmities that may still cleave unto us.

And as the holy sacrament of the Supper has been instituted by our Lord Jesus himself, in order thereby to nourish and strengthen our faith, by a certain visible assurance, that His sacred body and blood were offered a sacrifice for our sins, as truly as we eat of the broken bread and drink of the poured out wine,—we must also believingly regard the bread and wine of the Holy Supper, as the certain signs and seals, by which He pledges unto His sincere people His undoubted presence, and communicates His comforting and sanctifying grace. Thus in the outward material elements, must we discern by our faith, the Lord's body, as spiritually present, until He come.

The third part of the duty before us consists in sincerely searching our souls, to know whether it is our earnest desire and purpose, to prove the sincerity of our repentance and faith, not merely by a public profession thereof, but by an actual renunciation of all sin for the rest of our lives, and by a steady perseverance in all holiness and piety. For if our sorrow for past sins be godly sorrow, we have died in it unto sin and the world, and if our faith in Christ be that which is the gift of God, we have been made alive in it unto Christ. How then can they be truly dead unto sin, delight any longer therein? And how can they who are truly raised up in Christ unto newness of life, refuse to show forth their gratitude for what He has suffered and done for their redemption, by denying themselves, taking up their cross daily, and following Him?

As many of you, therefore, my beloved brethren and sisters, as have thus examined themselves, and find in your hearts such repentance, faith, and sincere resolutions of amendment of life, arise in your places, and having answered the questions which I shall propose, unite with me in sincere public confession and prayer before the Lord.

[Here the communicants shall rise up in their several seats, and in a distinct voice answer the following questions which the minister shall propound:]

In the first place, do you sincerely and penitently confess, with me, before the face of God, your many sins and abhor yourselves on account of them; and casting away all self-righteousness, do you hunger and thirst after the righteousness and grace of Jesus Christ, as freely offered in the Gospel? If you do, then answer—*I do repent; God be merciful unto me a sinner.*

In the next place, do you believe that Jesus Christ is the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world, and are you heartily confident, that for His sake God grants unto you the full forgiveness of all your sins, and imparts unto you the benefits of His perfect righteousness; and also that in the Holy Supper of which you desire to partake, this grace and mercy are freely set forth and sealed unto you and all believers?

Answer—*I do so believe; Lord help mine unbelief.*

Finally: do you herewith more and more renounce all sin, all envy, pride, malice, and bitterness, all profanity, sinful words and works, gluttony, drunkenness, lasciviousness, and covetousness, with all other iniquities, solemnly promising nevermore to give place to the same, nor to commit them; and do you also sincerely engage to walk in newness of life, and to become daily more diligent in the use of all the appointed means of grace, that you may more and more abound in the fruits of righteousness, to the praise and glory of God your Saviour?

Answer.—*I do thus purpose and promise; Lord uphold my goings that my footsteps slip not.*

Let us pray.

Most Holy God, our Creator, Redeemer, and Comforter, we

poor and wretched sinners do humbly confess before Thee, that we have in manifold ways grievously sinned against Thee, with numerous and gross outward offences committed by word and act. And still more have we offended Thee with inward sins, by our natural blindness, unbelief, doubts, despondency, impatience with Thy dealings and the errors of our fellow-men, with pride, covetousness, envy, lust, hatred, malice, and other sinful affections, as thou Lord well knowest, and we cannot too deeply deplore. But most gracious God, we repent of these things, and truly abhor ourselves on account of them; and casting ourselves humbly and penitently at Thy feet, we heartily beseech Thee to have mercy upon us, and forgive us for the sake of Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ. And grant us, with the pardon of our past iniquities, grace henceforth to eschew all evil, and diligently to run in the way of righteousness, according to the command and example of our blessed Lord and Master. And we beseech Thee also graciously to assist us in our renewed approach to the table of Thy dear Son, that we may draw near with truly hungry and thirsty souls, and receiving in true faith the blessings offered unto us in His name in the Holy Sacrament of His body and blood, may we be comforted and nourished unto eternal life in Him—in whose name we furthermore address Thee—

Our Father who art in heaven, &c. Amen.

[After this prayer the minister shall pronounce the following absolution and benediction:]

Hearken now unto the comforting assurance of the grace of God, promised in the gospel unto all that believe:

Thus saith our Lord Jesus Christ—God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him might not perish but have everlasting life.

Unto as many of you, therefore, beloved in the Lord, as abhor yourselves and your sins, and believe that you are fully pardoned through the merits of Jesus Christ, and resolve daily more to abstain therefrom and to serve the Lord in true holiness and righteousness, I declare, according to the command of Christ, that you are released in heaven from all your sins,

(as He hath promised in the Gospel,) through the perfect satisfaction of the most holy passion and death of our Lord Jesus Christ. And now may the very God of peace sanctify you wholly; and I pray God, your whole spirit, and soul, and body, may be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Faithful is He that calleth you, who will also do it. Amen.

[Should any anxious or distressed person desire to be specially counselled and comforted by the minister, an opportunity should be afforded after the congregation has been dismissed.]

FORMULA FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE HOLY SUPPER OF
OUR LORD.

[In the ordinary services of those days on which the Lord's Supper is to be celebrated, the minister should study brevity, and endeavor mainly to direct them, especially the sermon, to the subsequent service of the Holy Communion.

The bread and wine provided for the occasion shall be furnished with decent plate and vessels, covered with a pure white napkin and placed, by the elders, upon the table or altar in front of the pulpit; the table being also covered with a pure white cloth.

Immediately after the sermon a few verses shall be sung, during the singing of which the minister shall descend from the pulpit, devoutly take his place before the table, remove the napkin from the elements, and when the congregation has concluded singing, address the communicants in a solemn manner, as follows:]

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.

Beloved in the Lord Jesus Christ: Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ hath said, "Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest." And again: "If any man thirst let him come unto me and drink. * * * My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed." Remembering therefore how great our sins and miseries are, let us come unto our blessed Redeemer as He offers Himself unto us in this Holy Supper, with broken and contrite hearts, truly humbling ourselves before the Lord on account of our sins, and sincerely repenting of them and renouncing them. And con-

sidering how full and free is the mercy and salvation represented to us in this Holy Sacrament, and offered, through it, unto all who accept thereof in true repentance and faith, let us feel heartily assured, that we shall here find abundant comfort and grace, according to the cheering invitation and promise of our most adorable Redeemer.

And that we may thus worthily wait upon the Lord, and renew our strength in this Holy Supper, let us with believing hearts, humbly and fervently implore His divine help—saying:

Almighty and most merciful God, we give Thee our hearty thanks, that of Thy great forbearance, we are spared to meet once more in Thine holy Temple, for the purpose of celebrating the Supper of Thy beloved Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. We praise Thee for the special proofs and pledges of Thine infinite mercy and compassion towards us miserable sinners, furnished unto us in the Holy Sacraments, and particularly in this Holy Communion to which we are now again invited to come.

And now, O most merciful Father, that this compassion and grace may not prove unavailing through our impenitency and unbelief, we fervently beseech Thee to work in our hearts, by Thine Holy Spirit, that godly sorrow for our many and great sins, which needeth not to be repented of. Make us more fully to know the number of our transgressions, and the greatness of our guilt, so that our hearts may be broken and our spirits may be contrite on account of them. May we see and feel that the guilt of our sins is so grievous, that nothing less than the sufferings and death of Thy dear Son could atone for it; that our iniquities are so defiling, that the blood of Christ alone could cleanse our souls therefrom; and that the wounds and bruises they have inflicted upon our whole nature are so deep and deadly, that none but Jesus, the good Physician, could restore us to health and life again. May we thus be enabled to realize our extreme wretchedness so as to despair of finding any help in ourselves, or any other mere creatures, and to feel constrained to cast ourselves wholly upon Thy Divine compassion in Jesus Christ.

Help us also, Most Holy Father, heartily to believe in Thy promises of mercy to penitent and contrite sinners. Beholding the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world, as He is hereby sacramentally set forth and offered unto us, may we be confidently assured, that not only unto others, but unto us also, are freely granted remission of sin, everlasting righteousness and salvation, for the sake of the merits of Thy dear Son. O Lord, we do believe, help Thou our unbelief, and we will give Thee all the praise of our salvation forever. Amen.

Attend now, dearly beloved, to the gospel of the institution of this Holy Supper by our Lord Jesus Christ, as recorded by St. Matthew :

“And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples and said, take, eat, this is my body. And He took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, drink ye all of it ; for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.”

Hear also what the Holy Ghost saith, by the mouth of the apostle Paul :

“The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? For we, being many, are one bread and one body, because we are all partakers of that one bread.”

That we may now celebrate the Supper of the Lord to our comfort, let us consider to what end it is here declared to have been instituted, viz :—to aid us in the commemoration of our Saviour's sufferings and death, and to promote our union with Him, and our fellowship with each other. “This do in remembrance of me.” We are to remember Him, in the first place, by certainly believing in our hearts, that our Lord Jesus Christ was sent into the world by the Father, according to the promise made in the beginning unto the patriarchs ; that He took upon Himself our flesh and blood ; that He endured for us the wrath of God, under which we must eternally have perished, from His incarnation until the end of His life on earth,

and rendered complete obedience unto the divine law, fulfilling all righteousness for us. But especially are we to remember and believe that all this was done, when under the burden of our sins, and the wrath of God, He sweat great drops as it were of blood in the garden; when He was bound that we might be set at liberty; when he endured unutterable reproach, that we might never be put to shame; when He was condemned to death that we might be acquitted at the judgment seat of God; and above all when He permitted His sacred body to be nailed to the cross, that He might fasten thereon the indictment of our sins, and so took upon Himself our condemnation, that He might replenish us with His saving grace, abasing Himself into the deepest reproach and hellish anguish of body and soul on the cross, when He cried out with a loud voice, "My God! My God! Why hast Thou forsaken me!" All this we are here to remember and believe that He suffered, in order that we might find acceptance with God, and never be forsaken; and that He thus sealed the New and everlasting Testament, the covenant of grace and reconciliation, with the shedding of His blood, and finally with His death, when he said, "It is finished."

That we now might firmly believe, that we have part in this salvation, our Lord Jesus Christ in the night in which He was betrayed took bread,* and when He had given thanks He brake it, and gave it to His disciples, and said, take, and eat, this is my body which is offered for you; do this in remembrance of me.

In like manner also, after Supper, He took the cup,† and blessed it, and gave it unto them, saying: "Drink ye all of it, this cup is the New Testament in my blood, shed for you and

* Here let the minister take up the plate containing the bread—and as he utters the words—"brake it"—break in two one of the pieces, relaying them upon the plate and placing his hand upon the whole of the bread.

† Here let the minister take the cup or chalice, containing the wine, in his left hand, laying his right hand also upon it, until the sentence is finished.

for many, for the forgiveness of sins; this do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me." That is, as oft as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall be reminded and assured, as by a certain memorial and pledge, of my hearty love and faithfulness to you, who must have perished with everlasting death, had I not given my body to die for you upon the cross, and shed my blood, to feed and nourish your hungry and thirsty souls with this same crucified body and shed blood, as certainly as you all see this bread broken, and this cup handed unto you, and you are permitted to eat and drink thereof in remembrance of me.

In this Holy Supper, therefore, our Lord Jesus Christ fixes our faith and confidence upon His perfect sacrifice, once offered upon the cross, as upon the only foundation and basis of our salvation, having Himself become the true meat and drink of eternal life to our hungry and thirsty souls.

But by thus eating the crucified body, and drinking the shed blood of Christ, as they are sacramentally offered unto us in this Holy Supper, we not only embrace with a believing heart all the sufferings and death of Christ our Saviour, and thereby obtain the pardon of our sins and a pledge of eternal life. In addition to this, we hereby also become more and more united to the sacred body of our adorable Redeemer, by the Holy Ghost, who dwells both in Christ and in us; so that we, though Christ is in heaven, and we on earth, are notwithstanding "flesh of His flesh, and bone of His bone." For by His death He hath procured for us the quickening Spirit, that we, through the same Spirit, dwelling in Christ as the head, and in us as His members, may have true fellowship with Him, and be made partakers of all His benefits, of righteousness, eternal life, and heavenly glory.

And finally, another design of this holy Supper is, that by the same Spirit, we may all be more closely knit together, as members of one body, in true brotherly love; as the holy apostle Paul saith: "For as it is one bread, so we, being many are one body, forasmuch as we are all partakers of one bread." For as the bread broken, of which we eat, is made out of many

grains, and as the wine, of which we drink, is prepared of many berries; so also shall we all, being incorporated with Christ by true faith, be one body through brotherly love, for the sake of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath first loved us, and commanded us to imitate His example by also loving one another.

And hereunto may the Almighty and most merciful God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ help us by His Holy Spirit. Amen.

Let us pray.

Most merciful God and Father, we humbly beseech Thee, that in this Holy Supper, in which we believingly commemorate the bitter death of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and thus renewedly present unto Thee the all-sufficient sacrifice which He perfected for our sins upon the cross, Thou wouldst so operate upon our hearts by Thy Holy Spirit, that we also may surrender ourselves, continually more and more, as living sacrifices, unto Thy Son Jesus Christ. Grant also that our heavy laden and contrite hearts may be nourished and quickened with His true body and blood, yea with Him as true God and man, the only heavenly bread, by the power of the Holy Ghost. And thus may we no more live in sin, but may He live in us, and we in Him, and so become real partakers of the blessings of the eternal covenant of grace, and feel confidently assured, that Thou art and wilt be our reconciled Father forever, no more imputing unto us our sins, but owning us graciously, loving us freely, and providing for us abundantly all things needful for body and soul, as Thy dear children, and heirs with Him of everlasting life.

Help us also to show forth our gratitude for this Thine unspeakable love, by cheerfully bearing our cross, denying ourselves, confessing our Saviour, and in all our trials and temptations looking with confidence for the triumphant coming of our Lord Jesus Christ from heaven, when He will make our mortal bodies like unto His own glorious body, and receive us with Himself into eternal life. Amen.

Our Father who art in heaven, &c.

Confirm us also, most gracious Lord and Saviour, by this Thy Holy Supper, in our holy Christian faith, of which we now make hearty confession before Thee—saying—

I believe in God, &c. Amen.

And now, beloved in the Lord, that we may be fed with the true heavenly bread, Jesus Christ, let our hearts be lifted up in faith unto heaven, where Jesus our Christ sitteth, at the right hand of His heavenly Father, not doubting that our souls shall be fed with His body and blood, through the operation of the Holy Ghost, as certainly as we receive the sacred bread and wine in remembrance of Him.

Ho ! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, come ye buy wine and milk without money and without price.

For God commendeth His love to us, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us.

And He is the propitiation for our sins. Wherefore the Spirit and the Bride say, come ! And let him that heareth, say, come ! And whosoever will, let him come ! and drink of the water of life freely.

And may the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with us all. Amen !

[The congregation shall now sing an appropriate sacramental hymn or psalm, during the singing of the second or third verse of which, the communicants shall devoutly assemble in sufficient numbers to fill the space around the table, when the singing shall cease until the table has been served and dismissed. Then during the singing of another verse, the table shall be filled a second time, and thus until all have communed.]

In administering the elements the minister shall first take in his hand some of the bread, and breaking a convenient portion, present it unto each communicant, saying :]

The bread which we break is the communion of the body of Christ.

[Then taking the cup, he shall in like manner present it unto each one, saying :]

The cup of blessing which we bless, is the communion of the blood of Christ.

[It is also left optional with the minister to use, instead of the above words of St. Paul, those employed by our Lord Himself in the insti-

tution of the Supper, occasionally adding, with discretion, some other appropriate Scripture passages—such as the following :]

“ God so loved the world,” &c. “ It is a faithful saying and worthy,” &c.

“ Behold the Lamb of God,” &c. “ Greater love hath no man,” &c.

“ Christ died the Just for the unjust,” &c.

“ The blood that speaketh better things than Abel’s,” &c.

[The administration of the communion being completed, the minister shall address the communicants, who shall rise up in their places, as follows :]

Beloved in the Lord, inasmuch as the Lord hath now fed our souls at His holy table, let us praise His name with united thanksgiving, each one saying heartily :

Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless His holy name. Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits: Who forgiveth all thine iniquities; who healeth all thy diseases; who redeemeth thy life from destruction; who crowneth thee with loving-kindness and tender-mercies. The Lord is merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy. He will not always chide: neither will He keep His anger forever. He hath not dealt with us after our sins; nor rewarded us according to our iniquities. For as the heaven is high above the earth, so great is His mercy toward them that fear Him. As far as the east is from the west, so far hath He removed our transgressions from us. As a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that love Him. Who hath not spared His own Son, but hath delivered Him up for us all: wherefore should he not with Him also freely give us all things. Wherefore God sheweth His love towards us, in that while we were sinners Christ died for us. Much more then being justified by His blood, shall we be saved from wrath, through Him. For if, whilst we were enemies, we were reconciled unto God by the death of His Son: much more, being reconciled, shall we be saved by His life. Wherefore my lips and heart shall shew forth His praise, from henceforth forevermore. Amen.

Let us pray.

Most Holy Triune God—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Creator, Redeemer and our present Comforter—accept of our humble and hearty thanksgiving for all the inestimable benefits which we have this day again received at the Holy Supper of our most gracious Saviour. We came hungry, and Thou gavest us meat. We came thirsty, and Thou gavest us drink. We came naked, and Thou, our compassionate Lord, has clothed us with the garments of Thine own dearly purchased righteousness. We came as prisoners, and Thou didst release us, breaking our bonds with Thine own bleeding hands. We came as outcasts, and Thou didst take us in, opening Thine own wounded side, that we might enter by faith, and find a safe and peaceful home in Thy loving heart. What shall we render unto Thee, O most gracious God our Saviour, for Thine unspeakable love to us? We have taken the cup of salvation, and made our vows unto Thee. Help us, O Lord, to redeem those solemn vows. Behold we are Thine, for Thou hast dearly ransomed us. Enable us henceforth to live unto Thee, and show forth Thy praise by constant and cheerful obedience to Thy holy will. May we not only remember Thee, and Thine atoning sacrifice, here at Thy table, but ever carry about with us the dying of our Lord Jesus Christ, that the sanctifying power of Thy most efficacious life, may also appear in us, constraining us, for Thy sake, to crucify the flesh, with its impure affections and deadly lusts, and to offer ourselves up continually, as living sacrifices of love and obedience unto Thee, so that when Thou, who art our life, shall appear, we also may appear with Thee, and be gathered to share with all Thy ransomed saints, the glory which Thou hadst with the Father from everlasting. Amen.

[The congregation shall then sing a few verses of a thanksgiving psalm or hymn, and be dismissed with the Mosaic or Apostolic benediction.]

ART. V.—CHRISTIAN CULTUS: ITS NATURE, HISTORY, AND RELATIONS,

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH.

THE word CULTUS is not yet fully and fairly English; owing, perhaps, to the fact that the Christian interest which is covered by its meaning has not yet engaged the attention of our English Theology with that earnestness and scientific precision which ever seeks to give fixedness to floating conceptions by forcing them to an incarnation in words. Moreover, as we shall see, those divisions of the Church in which the English language prevails, have either never accepted, or gradually abandoned, the interest which calls for such a term. In this remark the Church of England must be excepted. In it there is professedly much zeal in this direction; yet writers upon the subject in that communion, have been satisfied with the words *Worship*, *Church-Service*. These terms, however, are inadequate, inasmuch as they exhibit only one side of Cultus, and that the human:—they exhibit only what Christians do to God, and not what God does to them. Whatever may be the theory held, the free and natural use of such terminology, and the long continued acquiescence in its use, betrays the existence of a practical heresy or defection, to which we will return at the proper place.

Cultus is a word at home in the German language, and the representative of a Christian interest which has been regarded as high, solemn, and central, from the Reformation until now; and it has, since the recovering process from Rationalism and Sectism manifested itself with power and promise in the Reformation confessions, been fallen back upon with new confidence and hope. It is felt more and more that neither our rational nor our emotional nature can be trusted as leaders of

the momentous interests of our spirits :—the first will run us out into the pure negative, by denying all but itself ; and the second by expending its unsubstantial contents. We need more than a going to God ; we need also a coming of God to us. We need more than Service, rationally, and Worship, emotionally ; we need that which comes to us from God—which will underlie, and sanctify, and direct both our rational and emotional being—we need supernatural visitations, indwellings and surroundings, such as God has brought to us, into us, and around us, by the Incarnation of Christ, by the gift of the Holy Ghost, and by the heavenly powers which are brought around us in the Church. All that we receive, have, and can do, with our life at home in such a bosom of new-creating and nourishing powers and influences is comprehended in Christian Cultus.

Cultus, as including all that is done for us by Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in the bosom of the Church, takes a wide range. Indeed the supernatural, which thus comes to surround us in the Church, in our present existence, in order to take up us in all our earthly relations and dependencies, must unite itself with the natural in such a way as to make it its own initiatory medium and means—the natural, (and with it we who live in its affinities,) is taken up into the supernatural—the earthly becomes heavenly—the profane is consecrated—the natural becomes sacramental.

To enlarge and illustrate this thought we may remark that Cultus first of all includes and sanctifies TIME. The seventh day completes the cycle—joins the last again to the first, the end to the beginning—it is the first as well as the last, so that all time begins and ends holy. It is not only the rest of the body but of the spirit—not only the rest of man, but of God. "God rested !" God then rests. The greatness, the holiness, the quietude and peace of the infinite dawns in the finite on the Sabbath. God, in Christ, by the Holy Ghost, through the Church, rests, and seeks rest in the spirits of men ; and the spirit which is thus brought to reign in the hearts of those in whom God rests, sanctifies all the days and works of the week.

Thus time, the finite and natural, is brought into consecrated relations to the infinite and eternal. This Sabbath is the earnest of that which is to come—that which is natural, earthly, and only in part, will complete itself, and us with itself, in that which is supernatural, heavenly, and complete. Thus it is easy to see how important an element holy time is in Christian Cultus.

Not only is time—sacred seasons—brought under sacred contribution by Cultus, but also *space*—sacred places. As the infinite and supernatural must touch the finite and natural in points of time, so they must also in points of space. This constitutes sacred places—sacred by those divine transactions where God meets man—and sacred in the associations of fear and hope which such a meeting inspires. As the Sabbath brings God into time, so the sanctuary brings God into space. "The Lord *is* in his holy temple!"

Farther, God who enters the outward and material world through time and space, enters our humanity through man—at first through THE Man, Christ; and since, through men. God communicates with men, through men. Hence there are included in Cultus offices, functions and influences of *sacred persons*. Beginning with God in Christ—the God-Man, we have Christ over and in the Apostles—these over the succession of the ordained and authorized with sacred functions—these over the whole body of saints whom they nurture from Christ and in him—then these over each other and the unregenerate world, by virtue of the office of universal priesthood. Thus every saint in the Church sees before him, above him, and around him sacred persons, grading from THE man down to himself, and including himself—for he is a sacred person, endowed with priestly functions, which he may use in his own behalf!—to whom he is to look with reverence, and from whom, as media between himself and God, he is to receive gracious communications towards the Cultus of his divine and heavenly life.

So far we have seen that Cultus brings under contribution the *mighty three*, which though powerfully active, seem to lie

in great, grand, sublime quietude around us—viz: time, space and the new humanity in Christ. Yet with still more minute detail, and with still more wonderful adaptation, does Cultus consecrate our surroundings, making the natural the medium of the supernatural. This is done by *sacred things*—by which our faith, through the faculties of our spirits, and the senses of our bodies, hold communion with the supernatural, becoming sanctified by the communion. Here we have the elements of the two sacraments—the sanctifying water, the nourishing bread, and the quickening wine—elements which in their very nature adumbrate their real sacramental power. This—namely their natural adaptation to the natural life—shows their fitness to be media between the natural and supernatural. Thus in the very deepest and most living point of communion between our natural life and matter, has the divine order constituted the mysterious sacramental contact through which the supernatural is unfolded in us. The natural washing, the natural eating and drinking while they remain natural, are nevertheless also supernatural and sacramental. Here is the preached word; which though it asks the mediation of our natural powers, is still a living, creative, and supernatural word to faith. Here are prayers, supplications, intercessions, thanks, and songs of praise. Here, too, are promises and threatenings, acquittals and condemnations, bindings and loosings, rewards given or promised, and salutary penalties applied—which is the beginning and prophesy of that judgment final and to be feared—all of which enters as a sanitive element into Christian Cultus.

In these observations we have designed, by illustrating the range which Cultus takes, to afford the reader a free definition of the sense which we design the word shall bear in this article. It will be felt also, we think, how inadequate to cover such a meaning, are the words *Worship*, *Church-Service*.

This bosom of powers and influences, which the Church presents as the Cultus of saints for heaven, though in the deepest sense one, is nevertheless active in three departments or directions—Pedagogically, Sacerdotally and Regally. If we con-

template man in his natural condition, as he appears to our view either outside of the Church in Christian lands, or—which gives a fairer representation—as he exists in heathenism, we shall find three corresponding WANTS clearly expressed.

We find, First, ignorance—ignorance especially of God and the relations which man had once, does now, or ought to sustain to him. This want of knowledge was not only always felt among the heathen, but it expressed its desire after satisfaction in the rise of professed prophets or teachers—in pretended revelations derived from gods, from spirits, good and evil, from hidden powers of nature, through sorcery, magic, sooth-saying, and divers pretended modes of communication with hidden wisdom, by movements of planets, clouds, and birds, by living oracles intoxicated by the smoke of burning herbs, and by mysterious signs in the entrails of animals slain for sacrifice. In this way did the heathen seek knowledge, not only on one point, but in regard to all that can possibly concern the hopes and fears of the hidden past, the wide and perplexing present, and the awfully mysterious future! The earnestness of spirit, which seeks thus diligently and variously after some satisfying knowledge, declares very plainly its deep need and want of it. Hence we find that in all the religions of pagans the want of knowledge is largely expressed. The pedagogic function is needed.

We find, Secondly, fear, dread—dread arising from a deep sense of guilt. There is the consciousness that men once sustained a right, peaceful, and happy relation to the Great Supreme—that that relation does not now exist—but that it may be again restored—restored by the intervention of priestly functions and the virtue of sacrifices. All pagan ideas of religion, all pagan Cultus, has its altar, and centres in it; has its sacrifices and its priesthood, and feels that only through these is heaven propitious. The sacerdotal function is needed.

We find, Thirdly, a want of that discipline which acknowledges authority and submits to law. An examination of any, and of all pagan systems, will show how largely the fear of penalties, and the hope of rewards enter into their ideas of religion—will show also to what an astonishing extent they are

willing to submit to disciplinary and penitential requirements. Any pain or infliction of body is cheerfully endured for the health of the soul—any self-denial is endured, or any sacrifice is made, either to earn future rewards, or to discipline the spirit for their enjoyment. The Regal function is needed.

Such, then, are the wants which untutored nature expresses, and such are the attempts of a Cultus suggested by that nature to meet those wants. This brings us to a fundamental principle—it is this : A true Cultus, which is that in the Christian Church, must meet the wants which are expressed by unsanctified and unenlightened humanity outside of the Church. The sighs of humanity do not lie, but are a true, though unconscious, prophecy of what is needed ; and what is needed the true religion must supply. This Pagan Cultus, which deep wants blindly constructed out of *its own resources*, adumbrates the true Cultus which Christianity has constructed out of *resources from heaven*.

We need now only turn to Judaism to see the truth of this remark verified and illustrated. These three prevailing elements or functions, are at once seen to constitute the fundamentals of the Jewish Cultus. We see it in their laws, which are Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial. In their sacred functionaries, Prophets, Priests, and Kings. We see it in the worship of the tabernacle. There the people were taught the law, statutes, and ordinances ; thither sacrifices were brought and offered to God ; there too justice and judgments were dispensed as from the Lord. The entire Old Testament now bears upon its face, and carries in its substance, these three elements of its Cultus—the Law, judicial, the Prophets, educational, and the Psalms, sacrificial or devotional. Thus Judaism takes up the longing wants of Paganism, and furnishes in its Cultus, the earnest and promise of their fulfillment.

The fulfillment of what Judaism foreshadowed, came in the fulness of time by Christ. In Him was fulfilled all that was foreseen “in the law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms.” He came in these three offices. He was a PROPHET anointed by the Holy Ghost, a teacher sent from God, one

who spake as having authority, as never man spake, and His words which He spake were spirit and life. He was a PRIEST, not by call, like Aaron; not by succession, like Levi; "not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the power of an endless life"—a Priest from after the order of Melchizedek. He was a KING, not in the carnal sense understood and hoped by the Jews, but a King in His own kingdom, which came not by observation, which though in this world was not of this world, and which, in the Church and in the hearts of saints, by the power of the Holy Ghost, should endure through all time on earth, and through all eternity in Heaven.

These offices, and their functions, our Saviour intended should continue in the Church, which is His own body, and consequently the tabernacle of his continued presence, power, and grace in the world. This is evident from the words of their commission given them just before His ascension into heaven. "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore and teach all nations"—the authority to teach nations involves and implies that their power to teach was higher than the nations—"baptizing them"—dispensing sacramental power—"in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." He then adds, that in the exercise of all these functions his continued presence, and its accompanying power, shall be their warrant: "And lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world. AMEN."

It is not necessary, nor have we time in this part of our article, which contemplates only general historical principles, to pass through the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles in detail, in order to exhibit the fact that the ordained and commissioned of Christ exercised these functions—Educational, Sacerdotal or Sacramental, and Regal. Any number of confirmations in detail will at once suggest themselves to the reader. Neither need we enter into details to show the perpetuation of these functions through the whole subsequent history of the Church. It is sufficient to remark that Church History is made up of these three, Doctrine, Liturgy, Government.

The Reformation saved and perpetuated these three fundamental elements of Cultus, only aiming at delivering them, as we shall hereafter more fully see, from distortions, and attempting to restore them to proper harmony and unity of power. The Reformation took with it Word, Sacraments and Liturgies, and ecclesiastical government and discipline. The Prophetic office they continued in the use of publishing and preaching the word of God to the old, and in the use of catechisms among the young. The Priestly office was continued in the administration of sacraments, and use of liturgical worship. The Kingly office was carried forward in synods, consistories, and in the exercise, in a proper way and in the proper sphere, of ministerial power and authority, held by virtue of the office received by ordination. The sacred books of the Reformation Churches are these three—symbols of doctrine—liturgies of sacramental forms, prayers and hymns—and books of discipline. The very construction of churches has owned the power of these ideas; and sanctuaries have shaped themselves for the convenient and appropriate exercise of the functions of this Cultus—Pulpit, Altar, and Elders' seat. These remain to this day in those churches where the power and conception of the true Cultus have not vanished before another spirit and another way. The excellent Catechism of the German Reformed Church, uttering its steady and unceasing confession through troubled ages, amid the proud dictations of carnal reason, and the lawless imaginings of emotional caprice, still holds up the glorious trinity in unity of the true Reformation Cultus—Doctrine and Duty: Sacraments and Service: Law and the Keys.

Thus have we reached the true substance and nature of Cultus—it gives to man Prophet, Priest, and King, and affords him, for the perfection of the spiritual nature, the advantage of their functions. We must now proceed to a second principle. It is this: These three functions are not merely to be exercised over man, or before man, or to man; but they are to be exercised in man, by man, and through man. He is not merely to be arbitrarily confronted with them, but to be

freely apprehended by them. He is not to be merely passive and receptive, but active and officiating. It is not purely what God does to man, but includes also what man, in the bosom of divine powers, does to God. It is not only Sacramental, which conveys powers from God to men, but also Sacrificial, by which powers waked by this sacramental, reach forth from man to God. The living union of the Sacramental and Sacrificial constitutes the true Cultus. As a plant in the soil, or a living being in the womb, in their development, is not only acted upon but active, so in the saint, in the bosom of the Church Cultus, these two factors reciprocate.

This needs no farther illustration, except to refer the mind of the reader to the fact that in the history of all religions, the false as well as the true, there have ever been not only approaches, and dispensations of the Divine to the human, but a living return also of the human to the Divine—in all religions there is, in some form and degree, the Sacramental and the Sacrificial. The Reformation preserved this union in its true conception, and in its true inward and outward harmony; and it will be seen, in the proper place, that it continues in power in the Cultus of the German Reformed Church.

Having now reached these two fundamental principles in regard to the true Cultus—namely, that it is constituted of the three Prophetic, Priestly, and Kingly functions; and that in each of these separately, and in all of them unitedly, the two factors, the Divine and human, the Sacramental and Sacrificial are united, and reciprocate their activities, we proceed now to try, by these principles, different forms of Christian Cultus, as it has existed, or does now exist, in the Christian Church in general, and in the German Reformed branch of the Church in particular.

We turn our attention first of all to the Cultus as it was found existing in the Roman Catholic Church by the Reformation. Tried by the above principles, it will be found that the Pre-Reformation Cultus was defective in several important points.

1. It practically ignored, or at least left very much out

of sight one of these functions—namely, the Prophetic. It cannot be denied that the holy oracles grew comparatively silent previous to the Reformation! The Scriptures were shut up in unknown tongues. They were brought forward but little, and then not directly, in the public instructions of the Church. The pulpit was literally set to one side in the Church, and was not permanent, but movable. When it spake, it was mostly concerning the ceremonials, and not from the oracles of God. It proclaimed works to be done in bitterness, instead of good news to be heard with joy. The Mass, assuming itself to offer the great sacrifice ever anew, it became naturally unimportant to proclaim by the pulpit the one Sacrifice of Christ, offered once for all. The number of Sacraments was increased from two to seven. While the pulpit—an prophetic office—lost its meaning, the Priestly and Kingly became unduly prominent. The Prophet ceased to preach repentance, but so much the more did the Kingly office command penance; and as the Prophet grew silent the Priest grew arrogant, and the King arbitrary, until the first reigned in superstition, and the second with tyranny.

In the early Church the altar stood open and free, so that the whole congregation could view it; but later, when the Lord's Supper began to be viewed as an offering, it was separated from the view of the people by lattice work and curtains; and with this withdrawal of the altar the sacrificial side of the Sacrament passed out of sight.

In the early Church also, the Prophetic office stood prominent. This is evident from the early establishment of catechetical schools, as those, for instance, in Alexandria, A. D. 180; and the importance which was attached to the work of the catechists, of which there were large numbers. This office, however, gradually passed into great neglect;* and only

* It cannot be denied, that the greatest ignorance prevailed among the priests, and that they were entirely unfit to attend to the educational interests of Christianity. "Even Gregory the Great already says, that in Constantinople there was not one who understood Latin, and he himself acknowledges, that he had not learned Greek. In France it had already previous to the time of Charlemagne become law, that only for the consideration of a certain spe-

at the Council of Trent, when the success which attended the catechetical zeal of the Reformation was seen, was a return to the use of these means determined upon by the Roman Church. (See Cat. of Council of Trent, Trans. by Buckley, p. 4.)

When the commission: "Go *teach* them to observe all things which I have commanded you," was forgotten, it was the same to Cultus, as the blotting out of the sun would be to the natural world. True Cultus must be educational—must shed light, or all that is left will be but the fantastic play of blind and monstrous powers.

2. The Pre-Reformation Cultus reversed the *order* of these fundamental functions. Instead of Prophet, Priest and, King—it was King, Priest, and Prophet. The Roman Catholic Cultus culminates in power—in absolute, central authority. Over all, over Prophet, and Priest, over Altar and Sacrifice, is the authority of the papal chair. This power in the Church, through the priesthood, reigns supreme over all beneath it, and goes so far even as to offer Christ himself upon her altars! Government ought of course to have place in Cultus, and a prominent one too; but the mistake here is in the *order*—the governing is a result—the end and not the beginning—and ought to stand last in order. The promise is older than the law, in the Old Testament. Christ preached before he sacrificed, and before He established his direct rules. The first power he exercised was through the prophetic office—then he became a priest, offering himself; and only after his resurrection did he formally claim all power in heaven and in earth. To be brought to the altar without previous instruction is superstitious—to make us feel arbitrary power without instruction, is slavery. The first duty is, "Feed the flock;" and it

cified sum of money could a spiritual office be obtained; and in Spain it was customary for soldiers, when they were weary of military service, to purchase by the money thus earned a sacred office, so that they might spend their old age in convenient idleness. Charlemagne was the first one who brought things so far again, that *ordination* had to be preceded by an *examination*, and then the first question put to the candidate, was, whether he could *read*! Could he read, sing, and had he committed to memory the Paternoster and the Creed, he could count upon a good appointment."—*Alt on Cultus*, p. 604.

is distinctly added, "Neither as being lords over God's heritage."

3. The Cultus of which we speak did not preserve the living union, the harmony and mutual proportion of the Sacramental and Sacrificial. Sacraments and ceremonials were increased. The priests and their functions became too prominent. The ceremonies began to be rather displays before the people, than services with the people. The priest, instead of his face, began now to turn his back to the people. In this Cultus the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper can be celebrated without communicants;* when there are communicants, they need not partake of the cup; and the substantial bread becomes an insignificant wafer. Instead of the real light of truth, there is only the symbolical display of it in lighted candles—instead of the living word actually communicated, that it may burn in the heart, there are only tapers before the eye. This Cultus does not lay hold properly upon their subjective powers, to cultivate and unfold them—to give exercise to their faith, animation to their hope, and life to their love—to give expression to their gratitude and devotion. It does not sufficiently recognize the part to be taken by the Holy Ghost in the worshipper—it does not practically recognize the priesthood of the saints.—As our physical and intellectual powers can never be unfolded by merely looking on, without an actual use of them, so a Cultus which makes us, to a great extent,

* The holy Synod of Trent "commends those masses in which the priest alone communicates sacramentally"—says that these are to be "considered as truly common"—and we are assured that therein "the people communicate spiritually." (*See Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent. London, 1851, p. 144.*) All this makes it a mere display before the people—they are spectators, not communicants. When it is said that they "commune spiritually," it is virtually to ignore its sacramental character. Just so the Quaker has the Sacraments "spiritually." See also page 146, where the anathema is pronounced on those "who say, that it avails him only who receiveth," or who say that those masses are unlawful "in which the priest alone communicates sacramentally." Hence, too, we are told, that "not only for the sins, punishments, satisfactions, and other necessities of the faithful who are alive, but also for those who are departed in Christ, and who are not as yet fully purified, is it rightly offered." *Ibid* 148. All this shows how the Sacramental is separated from its living and necessary connection with the Sacrificial in this Cultus.

only spectators, cannot unfold duly our spiritual powers. Like a pebble in the soil, and not like a seed, is a spirit in the midst of such Cultus.

The service being in a tongue not familiar to the people, also aids in confining it to the Sacramental side; and even tho' the people may respond from translations, yet does this double process interfere with the living oneness of the Sacramental and Sacrificial in the Cultus. The word comes *to* them, not *into* them, becoming there a creative power, the life of which shall respond in glad unction to its source. In short, this Cultus, in all its wide range, does not realize the deep fact: "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us!" The powers of Cultus do not become subjective—it does not bring Christ into us—the Sacramental does not complete itself in the Sacrificial.

4. The Pre-Reformation, in the Roman Church, had too much for the senses. These were so severely, and so extensively exercised that the Sacramental in the Cultus did not reach the deeper man. The eye, the ear, and other senses were so well entertained, and made so quickly to pass from one thing to another, that the senses did not even really communicate to the inner life their own impressions. It is said that an artist was once employed to paint the Last Supper. "He labored to make the figure and countenance of our Saviour the one prominent object in his painting, and having put, on a table in the foreground, some chased cups, the workmanship of which was exceedingly beautiful, when his friends came to view the picture every one exclaimed: 'What beautiful cups!'" The artist now saw his mistake. A similar defect, we are inclined to believe, exists in the Cultus of which we speak. There are too many things so prominent to the senses, as very much hide to the worshipper's faith Him whom we see not, yet desire to love.

Cultus must not only influence and move the senses, but chiefly the will, the faith, the understanding, the affections. Any powers that unduly overawe, confuse, or excite our sensual nature—we use the word sensual in a good sense—hinders

the soul from being reached and permanently impressed, just as too loud a sound deafens, and too bright a light blinds. It is on this principle that the extreme objectivity of the Roman Church in one direction, and the extreme subjectivity of fanatical sects in the other, really meet; and we have, as Bishop Lavington * so plainly shows, the same kind of error at both poles. To say all which pertains to this defect in the Cultus under consideration, in one word, it loses sight of that great law in the life of grace: "We walk by faith and not by sight!" As in the natural world it is not powers and operations that are tangible to the senses, but such as are not, that evolve and perfect life, even so it is in the sphere of spiritual life. We look not at the things which are seen, with eyes of flesh, but at the things which are not seen, by eyes of faith.

5. One more defect which belongs to this Cultus is, that owing to the defects already pointed out, it becomes in reality a work. The part which the laity take in this Cultus is not sacrificial but servile—not worship but work—not devotion but duty.

The Church itself, on the Sacramental side, does a work for men, instead of making offerings to men, and making, through her functions, free communications of grace to men. The offering in the Mass is an offering to God by the priest, instead of an offering to men from God. Its Sacramental character is thus in reality lost, and it becomes itself sacrificial—a something which is done to God, and not something which God does to us—a work and not a worship—Judaism and not Christianity—a denial that Jesus Christ *has* come in the flesh as an offering, and a ceremonial by which He is to be brought.—Christ's life is not now to be offered to God; that has been done; it is now to be offered to the people. As

* "The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists considered: By Bishop Lavington. New Edition, London, 1820." A book of 805 pages, including "Notes, Introduction, and Appendix, by the Rev. R. Polwhell," which, tho' free of the fire which characterized the times of earnest controversy between the Church of England and Methodism at the rise of this last, is full of valuable matter to a charitable student of the theological interests and principle involved.

Christ is not now, so Cultus is not, a worker out of salvation, but a source bestowing and communicating it.

It cannot be denied that, in the Roman Church, the idea of doing is unduly prominent. Works precede faith and forgiveness. There is, as in Judaism, the law unto grace, instead of, as in Christianity, grace unto the law. It is, do that you may live, instead of live that you may do. It does not imbed its works in the bosom of grace, that they may be its natural product. Its faith is reach, instead of rely—it is get, instead of receive—it is rise to, instead of repose on. Duty is to precede privilege, instead of privilege duty. In short, this Cultus forgets that the law came by Moses, but grace and truth by Jesus Christ—and that the law is to continue in Christianity, not as fulfilling, but only as fulfilled in Him. True Cultus must place works where they are placed in the Heidelberg Catechism: not in the First Part, to please and propitiate the Father: not in the Second Part, to help the Son: but in the Third Part, as the fruits of grace, expressing the gratitude of a soul already saved by Christ, and as expressing a true sacrificial service, in the power of the Holy Ghost, and in the glorious evolution, perfection, and beauty of all His graces and fruits in the saint.

What has now been said of the defects of the Cultus of the Roman Church, prior to the Reformation, may also in substance be said of the Greek Church. Here the exercise of the prophetic functions is the exception, not the rule. The priests were ignorant. Cyrill, as quoted by Alt, says in 1274, that "a priest must be able to read and write well!" Also Hugo 1141; "Our priests know nothing any more of the divine law, nor will they learn it, but they are idle." The Troubadour songs of the times abound in the most direct and severe censure of their ignorance.

The worship of the Greek Church resembles a magnificent symbolico-liturgical drama, conducted by the ecclesiastics and the choir, of which the people are mere spectators. The contents of this Cultus are pictures of the work of salvation from the beginning of the world and the fall, down to the union of

the incarnate Saviour with believers in the Sacrament. The sacrificial scarcely comes to view, and the Kingly, as in the Roman Church, is prominent.

In regard to the existence of some defects in the Pre-Reformation Cultus, the leaders in the Reformation were mutually agreed. Neither did they differ substantially, in reference to the three functions that must be active in Cultus, Prophetic, Priestly, and Kingly. Nor yet did they differ as to the necessity of the two sides of Cultus, the Sacramental and Sacrificial. The principal difference which manifests itself at the beginning of the Reformation is the relation of these to each other, and their relative prominence and importance. The questions between them were such as these: What is the proper order of these functions? What are their relations to each other; and what are their relative proportions and importance? In what relation do the Sacramental and Sacrificial stand to each other, and what prominence is to be given to each side? These questions bring before us fully the points of difficulty and difference between the two sides of the Reformation in regard to Cultus.

These differences, with some of their grounds and reasons, can best be shown by a brief exhibition of the prominent principal elements and characteristics of the Cultus of each confession, with a comparison of one with the other.

Luther's first idea was not so much a reformation in Cultus, as a reformation in doctrine. He seems not fully, perhaps scarcely at all, to have considered and felt the deep and necessary connection of these two. When at length he clearly saw that the advance he had made in the reformation of doctrine demanded also, as its necessary completion, a similar work in the sphere of Cultus, his first idea was a reformation of the Mass. The subject began early to press heavily upon him. In 1523 already he published a small tract "Concerning the Order of Divine Worship in the Church." He lays down his fundamental principle thus: "The Worship which now everywhere exists (the Catholic in the middle ages) has an excellent Christian origin, just like the office of preaching the Word.

But just as the office of preaching has been destroyed through the Spiritual Tyrants, so has divine worship been destroyed through the Hypocrites. Now as we do not abrogate the office of preaching, but desire to bring it again into its proper place, so it is not our design to abolish divine worship, but only to restore it to its proper spirit and position."* This being his starting point he retained at first the name and form of the Mass, rejecting only what he did not find directly *against* the Scriptures. Hence his "*Formula Missæ*," published 1523 follows the order of the Roman Mass in all its length, containing 14 sections. The Latin language is retained; the Sacramental service is sung, the officiating minister turns to the altar from the people in the consecratives services, as well as in reading the collects, the communicants kneel, burning candles and incense is left optional, the wafer is retained, and the elements are to be held up and displayed before the people.

Three years later Luther published a "*German Mass*," which is not so slavishly dependent upon the old Roman Mass. Yet he says in the Preface, that he does not design by this German Mass to set aside the previous Latin one. "Just as we have used it hitherto, it shall still be free to us to celebrate it in that form if we wish or see reasons for so doing; for I by no means desire that the Latin language shall pass out of use in divine service." The "*German Mass*" is to be introduced on "account of the simplicity of the laity."

Thus the early ideas of Luther were of course highly sacramental. To this his high ideas of the nature of the Lord's Supper had a tendency to hold him. There was, however, at the same time a tendency in his mind of an opposite character. His ideas of the importance of the word, and his doctrine of justification by faith, in the form in which it was pressed upon him by his own experience, stood in conflict with the old Cultus which he wished to retain. Hence he deeply felt, even as early as 1526, when he wrote the Preface to his "*German Mass*," the necessity of a Cultus more free from

* Luther's Werke, Walchsche Ausgabe, X, 262 ff. quoted by Kliefoth.

the old order, and far more sacrificial in its character. Indeed he here went to most fanatical extremes in his speculations upon what he regarded as a pure evangelical Cultus: "That mode of worship which would be agreeable to the true evangelical order, ought not to be its celebration in a public place among all sorts of people; but those who desire to be Christians indeed and in earnest, and who are anxious to confess the Gospel in word and deed, should present themselves by name, assemble somewhere alone in a house to pray, to read, to baptize, to receive the Sacrament and to exercise themselves in other Christian works. In this order of worship, those who did not conduct themselves in a Christian manner could be known, punished, improved, expelled or put under ban, according to the rule given by Christ in Matthew xviii. Here also general alms could be assessed upon all, which should be willingly given and distributed to the poor according to the example of St. Paul, 2 Cor. ix. Here many and great songs would not be necessary. Here Baptism and the Lord's Supper could be celebrated in a brief, simple, and appropriate manner, and all could be arranged with reference to Word, Prayer, and Love. In short, if we had the right kind of persons, who desired to be Christians in good earnest, this order and manner could soon be brought about. But I cannot now, nor do I design as yet to set in order and establish such a congregation or assembly. For I have not yet suitable persons for it, nor do I see many who seem to be reaching earnestly forward toward such a point. Should, however, the time come when I must do it, and when circumstances shall impel me forward to it, that with a good conscience I can no longer omit it, then I will do what I can towards it, and do the best I am able." In the mean time, he goes on farther to say, the present order shall remain until the people are prepared for a change.

Under the influence of such views, the Lutheran Cultus had, of course, to undergo gradual changes and modifications. Reasons for modification were constantly presenting themselves, and pressing for change. The services were too long; the people became weary, and left before the services were ended.

The Lord's Supper, which was celebrated at each service, had sometimes few, or no communicants. So far did this evil go, that in 1531 Margrave George of Brandenburg proposed to Luther to restore the Mass again in full, so that when no communicants appeared, the minister might himself celebrate the communion. Luther opposed it. Still many and strong reasons existed for ever new changes in the service. Hence there were eliminations, alterations, transpositions, omissions which it would require a volume to trace and exhibit.

As long as the Lutheran Cultus rested prevailingly on the form of the Mass it possessed harmony and unity; but when this mass-idea, which formed its centre and heart, was torn out, by the progress of the reformation in Luther's mind, the whole was at sea as floating fragments. The various parts and forms of the old service which were preserved, would not cohere, as the centre which had previously bound them was torn away, and these parts had only a true consistent meaning as they stood in a true relation to their original centre.

Thus the principle from which Luther had set out in the formation of Cultus, was found to be untenable, and was gradually and silently abandoned. Change pressed upon change, as new incoherences and inconsistencies manifested themselves. "Hence it is no wonder," says Dr. Alt, "that where the established Lutheran liturgy was not perseveringly adhered to, perhaps out of dislike to the Reformed, alterations were made in the most arbitrary manner just as caprice dictated. 'Why,' it was asked, 'the reading of the Gospels at the altar, when they are again read before the sermon on the pulpit'—the reading of the Gospel lesson was put away. 'Why the reading of the Epistle, when there is no sermon preached from it?'—the Epistle was put away. 'Why on every Sabbath the Gloria, which harmonizes so badly with the Kyrie which immediately precedes it? and 'why the Kyrie itself, when no confession of sin precedes it, but follows at the close of the Sermon in the Confession?'—both were set aside. 'Why also the confession after the sermon when no communion follows?' This too remained, to a great extent, away, and the Church

service was reduced to the following points : Morning Hymn, Altar Prayer, Principal Hymn, Gospel, Sermon, Church Prayer, Lord's Prayer, Benediction, and Closing Hymn. Thus had the Lutheran Church arrived at the very same standpoint on which Calvin had at first placed the Reformed Church service."

This accounts for the unsteady and fluctuating character of the Lutheran Cultus during the early part of the Reformation. Luther's article of "a standing or falling Church," formed *one* central principle for a Cultus ; the old Mass-Cultus, with his idea of the Lord's Supper, formed *another* ; between these two centres, and around them, floated the various liturgical elements in a kind of doubtful poise and "durance vile" without power to unite both, to unite with both, or to unite with either. Thus the apparently very plausible idea of making the new Cultus a *reformed continuation* of the old, as entertained on the Lutheran side of the Reformation, proved itself in the end impossible of realization, crippled and embarrassed the movement, and hung upon the whole interest as a huge disadvantage.

We have said that Luther did not at first apprehend the wide range which the reformation would take. His aim at first was only, as Alt has well said, to call forth into power the doctrine of Justification by faith in the free grace of Christ; for this he became a reformer, and his controversy with the Roman Church was only a contending for this doctrine : "He would even have been willing to have tolerated the Pope himself if he had tolerated his doctrine of Faith." The Reformed side of the Reformation, however, at once contemplated a wider range. With Luther it was the Bible and the doctrine of justification by faith ; with the Reformed it was the Bible as the norm of a general Reformation. To Luther's first view the building seemed to need but one important timber to strengthen the whole ; to the Reformed it appeared at once, when they walked through it with the lamp of God's word, and examined one timber after the other that the whole edifice was dangerous to dwell in and regarded *only the foun-*

dations as good and safe!—the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, as the chief corner stone. They sought for primitive foundations. There was perhaps in one view an undue degree of violence in their idea and attempt to make the spirit of the first century reproduce itself, and live with its original life in the sixteenth. Yet was the movement radical in the *true* sense. It was not revolution, nor yet was it purely reformation—a *re-forming*—but reformation in the spirit and sense of evolution and development. It was a “disengaging from its coverings or folds, of that which lay before wrapped up and concealed under them, a bringing to birth of that which lay in embryo, creating nothing new, and certainly, inventing nothing contrary to, or destructive of, the original germ which it professed to develop.” The centralities and fundamentals of the previous historical Christianity were piously preserved; the Scripture was allowed to speak in incarnate words as these were traced in their living continuity, and as they received record, in those great and fundamental results which the history of the Church exhibited. They sought the first centuries *through* the intervening ones. Their ordination, their faith, their sacraments, and the chief of the subordinate elements of their Cultus they received *through and from the Church of all ages*. Without having time to particularize, it is enough to remark, that the fact that the Heidelberg Catechism clusters around the Apostles Creed as its centre and substance, is to be regarded as but the culmination of the previous feeling in regard to this point.

Thus the Reformed side of the Reformation as well as the Lutheran, sought the completion of that which was before; but the Reformed not so much in form as in substance and power. The Reformed life did not burden itself so much with the old forms—for to its deeper life they would have been, as they in time actually proved themselves to the Lutheran life, mere shells, floating fragments that would not adhere except to the old whole—but rose upon the old foundations with creative power. Here is a depth of wisdom: “No man also seweth a

piece of new cloth on an old garment: else the new piece that filled it up, taketh away from the old, and the rent is made worse. And no man putteth new wine into old bottles: else the new wine burst the bottles, and the wine is spilled, and the bottles will be marred: but new wine must be put into new bottles."

From this brief exhibition of the fundamental principles of the two sides of the Reformation, we are able very readily to sum up the main points of difference in the Cultus of the two confessions.

1. The Lutheran Cultus rested more outwardly upon the old Cultus; the Reformed, less outwardly, but more inwardly, and consequently with greater freedom. The Reformed saw at once more widespread corruptions in the old Cultus—regarded these as dead limbs upon a tree which are better away, and had confidence that the parent church-trunk had power to put forth for itself new growth, bloom, and fruit, if the light and warmth of the truth were made to dawn upon it. They believed that when the three functions of Cultus, Prophet, Priest and King, should be restored to their harmony, proportion, and activity, a true Cultus would by that fact be constituted. It needed but the voice of the Prophet, so long silent, to call forth life into palsied limbs, deaf ears, blind eyes, and a leprous body. So it was. The Reformed Church, as the name itself indicates, aimed at the *resuscitation*, and *reformation* of the Holy Catholic Church of the previous ages in the life and light of the living word;—the Lutheran, as also the name imports, was more an attempt to clothe the spirit of one man, and the life awakened and moulded by his influence, in the already existing forms, casting aside only what would not cohere. The two facts, that the one side of the Reformation took the name of a man, and the other side the name of a Historical movement is widely significant. History will never learn to say steadily, either Luther's church of Christ, or Christ's church of Luther.

2. As the Luthern Cultus rested with greater outward de-

pendence than the Reformed upon the old Cultus, it gave also more outward prominence to the Sacramental.

The Reformed Church has been charged with undervaluing the Sacramental in its Cultus, or at least virtually ignoring it in the prominence and power of the Sacrificial. This may have been done by some of its leading minds, as Zwingli and Calvin. It is, however, the honor of the Reformed Church, that none of her representative minds ever reigned in her Genius. As, in doctrine, neither the mind of Calvin nor Zwingli, reigns in her principal Symbol, the Heidelberg Catechism, not even the mind of its Authors, but a glorious catholic spirit: so it is in its Cultus. Neither the type of worship in Zurich or Geneva ever became general. The order of worship in the provincial churches at last merged into, and acknowledged more or less the moulding power of the Palatinate, in the bosom of which the Heidelberg Catechism took up and embodied, and then represented and still farther moulded a Cultus which was at once the cause and the product of its own life and teachings. No one will certainly charge this symbol with want of honor in the Sacramental, when it is but remembered, that the Creed, the Sacraments, and the Keys are *in the Second Part*, and are thus made the means of our "deliverance"—not Saviours, it is true, but saving—Sacramental.

There is good evidence, and it will at once clearly appear to any one studying the history of the times, that the extravagances of the Roman Cultus, and the outwardly burthensome, and withal incoherent and contradictory elements of the early Lutheran Cultus, had the effect of moving the Reformed towards the other extremes. The fundamentals, however, of a truly sacramental and churchly Cultus still reigned in the heart and mind of the Reformed Church; and these appeared in due time fully developed—to which even the influence of the Lutheran side itself silently contributed—in its Liturgies, especially in that of the Palatinate.

One reason why the Sacramental did not at first, or indeed at any time, *appear* so prominent in the Reformed Church, is the prominence which it gave to the Sacrificial, which was, in

the Roman Church ignored, and in the Lutheran was only brought out as the necessary result of the doctrine of Justification by Faith, but which there stood in such singular disharmony with consubstantiation and the slavish mechanical adherence to the forms of the old Mass-Cultus. Much that was said which seems to undervalue the Sacramental side of Cultus, was said in controversy with extremes, and must be so interpreted. If this mode of explaining strong language is not kept in view, it would be easy to make even Luther undervalue the Sacraments in favor of the Word; as, for instance, when he says: "If God's word is not preached, it is better that there be neither singing, reading, nor assembling together!" How unjust, however, would it be to represent Luther's estimation of Sacraments in the light of such strong expressions. As it would be impossible to understand any individual fully by viewing his acts in any one position, so we cannot judge the Reformers correctly from what they may have said under certain circumstances, and in certain positions, where there was much to bring out only a partial and onesided aspect of their mind and spirit.

The Lutheran Cultus separated too much the Holy Ghost from the Sacramental—did not do justice to the great fact, that He is *in* the worshipper, as well as in the Sacraments and ordinances. The Reformed held the Sacramental more in the power of the Holy Ghost, by virtue of which the Sacramental and Sacrificial, instead of acting *upon* each other, were active *together* as one living whole. The Lutheran views the difference between these two, the Reformed looks at their union. The prominence which the Reformed gave to the Holy Ghost as active in the worshipper, while it did not make the Sacramental less real, caused its prominence somewhat to disappear, as do the limbs and trunk of a tree when it is covered over with foliage.

The Reformed Cultus held also the Sacramental more in the power of the Mystical Union. This connected the saints with Christ's divine-human life, at least germinally, in order and time, *before* the Sacraments—making Baptism the birth of life

already at hand by the mystical union, and the Lord's Supper, the feeding of life also already so at hand. As Christ became incarnate, and thus united himself with humanity before he instituted the Sacraments; so still the same order is to be observed—by the Mystical Union we are united to Christ, by the Sacraments our life in him is evolved, and completed. The Lutherans, who were averse to this doctrine of the mystical union, made our union with Christ to rest rather through the Sacraments upon Christ, making our union with him wholly subsequent to the Sacraments. Hence they bound the sacramental power more to the outward form—to the word of the minister in the consecration—to the elements—to the magical force of the promise and the institution. The Lutheran held a gross sacramental presence in and through the Sacraments; the Reformed a real mystical presence not so much *in* the Sacraments, as *by* them—perhaps we may say, they regarded them as the indispensable *condition*, not *cause* of the mystical union. Their Sacramental in Cultus was the life of the new humanity brought into the world by the incarnation, signed and sealed to us by the Sacraments, and unfolded in us by the Holy Ghost, whose power is active from Christ, from the Sacraments, and in and from us.

The Reformed also, on this ground, held to the idea of the universal priesthood of saints; thus making the Sacramental complete itself in the Sacrificial act of the worshipper. He for whom the Sacramental has offerings is himself priest! In short, we may add, the Lutheran Cultus too much regarded the Sacramental as something already finished for the worshipper; the Reformed looked upon it as something completing itself in the Sacrificial in the worshipper.

It cannot be denied that there is much ground for the view of Cultus in the Reformed Church which gives prominence to the Sacrificial. Let some considerations be briefly presented, without illustrating them at length. God *has* done, we must now do. The kingdom of God *is at hand*, and this is to be at once the warrant and the life of our own activities in its bosom. The divine acts and movings of grace, as they come to us in

the Sacramental of Cultus, are not to be a mummerly *before us*, but the exercise and exhibition of a power *in us* and through us. In the receiver, not the giver, the greatest, or at least the most ostensible, activity will show itself. The altar, which is the centre of Cultus, is for offerings—the activities are in those who offer. Effects are always more ostensible than the cause, though the cause is first, and stands highest in dignity. The worshipper both receives and gives back to God, and many and divers activities are involved in both. Moreover, Christ, and the Spirit, and the functions of prophet, priest, and king, are in us, and through us they do their work. Let these principles be well considered ; let the range which they take in their details be thought of, and it will not be regarded a ground for either censure or regret that the Reformed Cultus hangs so strongly to the Sacrificial side.

3. The Lutheran Cultus is more heavy and complex ; the Reformed more simple.

By way of connection with what has just been said of another difference, we may remark that the fact of the simple character of the Reformed Cultus is no proof that no Sacramental character was attributed to it. Rather the contrary : for the fact of their strong opposition to additions show that they regarded them as the products of the human, and therefore as destitute of Sacramental power. Because they believed the functions of Cultus to be Sacramental they desired them to be kept pure. As they valued highly, and regarded with reverence, the divinely gracious acts, so much the more was their horror for that which, even in the best sense, must be regarded as mummerly.

The history of Cultus will show that the trouble has always been that liturgies became too long, and rites too burdensome and complex. This is seen in the Roman, and was felt as a grievous evil in the early Lutheran Cultus. Two causes wrought toward this evil. One was the principle that the resources of Cultus are not finished and at hand, but must be reproduced at each service. The other the error agreeably to which much was put into the Liturgy, and brought forward in the service,

which more properly belongs to the private exercises of Christians, either in personal private devotion, or in social Christian exercises in smaller and more familiar circles of worship. This trouble the Reformed Cultus avoided, by simplifying their Cultus, and encouraging private and social worship.

We greatly err, if we, after the Lutheran objection, regard the simplicity of the Reformed Cultus as a poverty and weakness. Professor Ebrard has well remarked on this point: "That which is simple is not necessarily poor. There is a majestic simplicity. The Dome of Lausanne, for instance, with its unadorned architectural beauty, produces a far more elevating impression than would a church of the same style, every column of which should be hung round with flags, figures, lamps, and every variety of splendid ornament for the gratification of the senses." Only that which is in itself uninviting and weak need resort to ornament and appendages. As unadorned beauty is the brightest beauty, so unadorned power is most efficacious. As the simplicity which characterized our Saviour's life and acts, affects us more directly, and commands our reverence more potently, than could have been done by any amount of appendage for effect; so a Cultus which proposes to perpetuate his power and grace in the world, will come nearer to us, and affect our spiritual life with more direct power, when it is constituted after this simple type, than can be done by any amount of well-meant liturgical ornament and appendage, the effect of which is lost upon the senses, leaving the life of grace unreach- ed beneath them.

It may well be considered whether the tendency to depart from simplicity in Cultus is not owing to forgetfulness of the great truth that the kingdom of God is to be received as a little child! The child-like spirit must also make itself known in child-like manifestation. The holiest men are the most child-like. The "beauty of holiness," like all beauty, is simple beauty. When we are most devotional we are most simple. The Reformed Church seems to have favored a Cultus that resembles John; and we hope it will ever say by its Cultus to those who are nurtured in its bosom, in the words of that child

like and beloved disciple: "Little children, keep yourselves from idols!"

Here we must reluctantly stop for the present, on account of the length which our article has already reached. Our design goes farther. We must yet exhibit the divergences from the fundamental principles of the true Christian Cultus as laid down in this article, in the various sections of the post-Reformation Cultus, outside of the two Reformation Confessions. Then, by way of making the whole profitable to the German Reformed Church with reference to its present Liturgical movement, we must give a more detailed historical exhibition of the Reformed worship in the different provincial Churches, with a critical examination of its different parts, followed by such suggestions as may grow out of the whole bearing upon our present Liturgical wants.

Lancaster, Pa.

H. H.

ART. VI.—AMERICA.

THE GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE UNITED STATES.

Two discourses by DR. PHILIP SCHAFF, Professor of Theology at Mercersburg, Pa., delivered before the Evangelical Union at Berlin, March 20, 1854.

[First Discourse.]

NOT without embarrassment, and with an earnest desire for your kind indulgence, do I appear before you in this metropolis of German science and of the highest intellectual culture, to speak upon a theme that is truly worthy of a much longer and more thorough preparation than was possible for me to make during the few days since my arrival, amidst the distraction and excitement incident upon a visiting tour in my beloved German father-land, and in seeing again so many dear friends

after a separation of ten years. Should I not be able to do justice to an assembly such as I have the honor of appearing before, to the objects embraced in this discourse, the discussion of which has been assigned me, yet I have at least this no small advantage, that I may speak, not only from books, but from real life; not as a distant observer, but from immediate observation and personal experience, of a country, which, by the leading of Divine Providence, has become a second beloved home, without on this account weakening in the least my love and attachment to my bodily and intellectual home—Switzerland and Germany.

America!—As I utter the word I feel that it will leave none of my hearers indifferent; that in each one who is not confined to the narrow circle of his own personal being, and of his native land, but, as becomes a person of cultivation, has an interest in the destiny of mankind, in the future history of the world and the Church, it will awaken deep sympathies or antipathies, joyous hopes or depressing fears; in fine, a wonderful commingling of lively and gloomy thoughts and misgivings. And truly is this the case more and more; the nearer Europe and America are drawn each year, by the means of intercourse of modern times, that sport with time and space, the stronger and more decidedly they act and re-act upon each other. For as the Eastern Hemisphere sends her superfluous thousands and millions in swelling streams over the Atlantic, so on the other hand the Western Hemisphere continually gains in conscious influence, be it for good or bad, upon the Old World. Especially is this true of the great North American Confederacy, which we have here especially in view, the free citizens of which call themselves in an emphatic sense simply Americans, and are everywhere so known, in the confident anticipation, that they are destined to be the lords of the New World. Already have the United States, not only by their manufactures and commerce, but by the beginning of an independent literature and the power of public opinion, especially by the example of her political and religious institutions, become an undeniable power in modern history, which

makes itself more felt from year to year in the further development of Europe. They have indeed already begun to contribute their part in the civilization and christianization of Africa by the hopeful negro-republic Liberia, and to the regeneration of Asia by Evangelical Missions in the Orient, and treaties of commerce with the East Indies, China and Japan. With this general interest is associated also the personal participation on the part of large numbers from all parts of Europe, on account of their sons and daughters, their brothers and sisters, acquaintances and friends, who have exchanged the old world for the new, and have thus formed many individual bonds of attachment between the two.

But where shall I begin, and where shall I end? The older one becomes, the more does he feel how difficult and hazardous it is to pass universal judgment upon whole lands and nations. For every nation, in which there is vital power, is a microcosm in which are mirrored the different tendencies and shadings of our whole race; an advance in wisdom and experience is also an advance in the foresight and modesty of our judgment. This is true in a very special sense in reference to the subject before me, which has been made subject to the most contradictory judgments, whenever this or that subordinate point may have become the leading measure. I desire you especially to reflect, that a complete representation of the condition and circumstances of America requires at the same time a correct picture of all Europe, which sends over its good and bad forces from all its countries. In the short time allotted to me, you will naturally expect but an imperfect sketch; in this I will confine myself to such matters of moment, that I may remove, or at least soften, certain widespread, and to me in my short visit multiplied contradictory judgments. Permit me to speak 1) Of the size and growth; 2) The political; 3) Social; 4) Cultivation and Learning; 5) Churchly and Religious Circumstances of the United States of North America, with especial reference to the Germans.

1. SIZE AND GROWTH.

If there is one fact in modern history which makes an epoch, it is the discovery, or rather the re-discovery of America by Columbus. It, with the invention of printing found out about a half century before, opened an unbounded prospect for the future. But both had their full meaning only in the great spiritual fact of the Reformation, which they as heralds preceded, just as at the present day the immense discoveries in steam-power and rail-roads open up a new epoch in the history of the world and the Church; seem to be unconsciously preparing for the general fraternization of the nations by the bands of civilization and of the everlasting Gospel. The States of Central and South America settled by Roman Catholics from Spain and Portugal, have either remained stationary or gone backwards. But that part of North America taken possession of by German Protestantism, has developed itself with unexampled rapidity, and will become one of the greatest and most powerful nations of the earth, if it thus goes forward yet for fifty years, and is indeed that already as to its fundamental outlines.

The United States, as is known, date their self-subsisting national existence to the declaration of independence of 1776, and are therefore not yet an hundred years old. At that time there were thirteen, now there are already thirty one well organized States, besides territory, which is uninhabited, or at least thinly inhabited, out of which can be easily formed a dozen new States, each as large as a German Kingdom. The whole area of the United States, since the new acquisitions of Texas, California and New Mexico, includes now not less than three millions of English square miles, is also nearly as large as the whole continent of Europe, whilst in variety of soil, climate and products it exceeds every other division of countries of like compass upon the globe. In a similar ratio has the population increased. Towards the close of the last century the Union scarcely numbered three millions; there are now already twenty-five millions of population, the increase of which will be naturally much promoted by its general pros-

perity and by early marriages. But to these are associated yearly many hundred thousands of emigrants from all parts of the old world, especially from England, Ireland and Germany, and lately has also an emigration set in even from an opposite direction, namely from distant China, that, invited by the gold digging of California, it sends from its bosom of 360 millions an increasing quota over the Pacific Ocean to the mart of St. Francisco, and to the banks of the Sacramento.

We have here before us one of the most remarkable and significant facts of modern times. One is fully justified in calling this stream of emigration, which goes forth cheerfully in a friendly manner, without the sword and the shedding of blood, a *wandering of nations*. It has no warlike tendency as the advance of the German tribes to the threshold of the middle ages; it is not the work of a religious enthusiasm, as the crusades; but for the most part the consequence of private want, and, at least in the case of Ireland, popular want, and a striving after more freedom of movement, and after a bettering of their outward and inward condition. With the German there is superadded that "*Heimweh nach dem All*," that cosmopolitan attraction, which can just as well be called his spiritual strength, as his political weakness. But above all ought we recognise in this grand emigration movement from East to West and the contrary, the march of history itself and the hand of an all-wise Providence, who conducts all for the best which here, as for two hundred years ago in Europe, breaks up new paths, opens new and unbounded prospects for the further development of humanity and the Kingdom of God.

The basis of American population is represented in the emigrants from England and Scotland. In later times the emigration from Ireland to America has become stronger than that of all European countries put together, so that a formal exodus, yea, a threatened dying out of the Celtic race and of Romanism in Ireland has already been spoken of. But now, the German has overtaken the Irish emigration, and will doubtless far exceed it in the future. At the port of New York

alone for the last few years there have arrived annually 100,000 Germans; and, as I am told by well informed persons, in this year, owing partly to the usual causes, partly to the threatening storm of a general European war,—which may God in mercy prevent—it may reach a half million, and mainly to America.

Let them go in God's name, and grant, that at least your prayers and your blessings may accompany them; Americans will welcome them all; the worthy ones certainly, but even the bad ones they will not cast off, in the hope, that in the new world they may also become new persons, and not verify the old adage: *Cœlum non animum mutant, trans mare qui currunt*. They will all, and many millions more, find room and employment enough in the measureless, yet uncultivated districts, abounding in the most fruitful soils; in the yet inexhaustible coal and iron mines, of which Pennsylvania alone is said to possess more than the whole continent of Europe; in the numberless canals, steamships and rail-roads; in the building of villages and towns, which start forth as the creations of a dream, so that the imagination can scarcely find names any more, but old ones must be recalled almost to confusion; in the most flourishing trade and industry of all kinds, and in the bosom of a nation, full of the keenest enterprising spirits, and of untiring activity. The Atlantic coast, which is the most densely populated part, and as yet the theatre of North American history, and already counts towns of a half million inhabitants, is nevertheless, compared with European countries, sparsely peopled. The Western coast on the Pacific Ocean, Oregon and California, is scarcely yet opened up to the prospect of the world, and has room for whole Kingdoms. The Mississippi valley, that is, the boundless rich river district between the Alleghany and the Rocky Mountains, which constitutes the proper body of the United States, and which numbers as yet only four million of inhabitants, is alone capable of conveniently nourishing a hundred million of people.

We must, however, remind emigrants of one thing; prepare yourselves for all kinds of privations, and rely not upon chance

and circumstances, but upon God and an untiring industry and perseverance. Let him who would enjoy a quiet life rather remain at home. The American looks not upon enjoyment, but upon labor; not upon comfortable rest, but upon laborious restlessness as a proper life-problem of man upon the earth, and this is for him of unspeakable weight, and has the best practical influence upon the whole moral life of the nation. The merchant of New York becomes offended, if stopped upon the street for the purpose of asking a question, as by this means he will be made to lose a few moments of his precious time. The same zeal, the same economy of time must the Preacher, the Missionary, the Colporteur and the Tract and Bible Societies use for a higher purpose. But the business man, who is somewhat piously disposed, looks upon the acquisition of money, simply as a means of doing good, as he is accustomed to express himself; and although one may not unjustly impute to the American covetousness and avarice, yet, on the other hand, they deserve the praise of an extensive liberality towards every possible benevolent enterprize, a liberality, which has not its like, except in the unexampled offerings of the Free Church of Scotland in the zeal of its first love.

As great as is the want of German preachers, especially in the western States of the Union, yet I would advise no one to emigrate who is not prepared to perform true missionary labor in the self-denying spirit of Christian love and meekness, and cheerfully to bear all kinds of hardships and adversities, yea, to labor and toil in the sweat of his brow for an unknown but great future; to offer himself up for a coming generation; that is the only enjoyment which I can promise a German preacher and a German scholar in America. He, whom this difficult but worthy undertaking invites, will truly find there a boundless field for activity.

In the face of this brief statement of the greatness and expansion of the United States, whose growth has positively been unexampled in all past history, of her inexhaustible resources for agriculture, trade and commerce of all kinds, for

culture and science, and all the peaceful arts, and in the face of this European emigration to the land of the West, can only stupidity itself remain indifferent, and pedantry deny to it a future.

Already upon the globe America presents itself as the central country. "*The people of the United States, these Americans per eminentiam, have the control over the whole continent, and over two oceans, the one arm stretched out towards Europe, and the other towards Asia, and they possess ambition and energy enough to profit by the advantage of their position and circumstances.*" If a higher hand does not presently bring the wheel of history to a stand, they will have an immense problem to solve in the probable, though not certain event of a separation into four republics, a Northern, Southern, Eastern and Western, and no friend of humanity and of the Kingdom of God can look upon the further development of this land of freedom, and of the future, with other than feelings of the deepest interest.

2. THE POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

In their political organization, the United States truly present a picture of a new world. In Europe, all State regulations rest more or less upon the feudal circumstances of the Middle Ages, as these again upon the patriarchal condition of Asia. The farther West, the more does the impulse towards individual and national freedom and independence make itself felt. Mostly is this the case with the Germanic stock, and farther again among these with the Anglo Saxons, who, favored by their insular separation, and under the influence of Christianity and Protestantism have carried out the farthest of all the nations of the earth, the principle of self-government and self-restraint, as the basis of national strength and greatness, and have presented the grand spectacle of an organized union of freedom and deep-rooted loyalty; of manly independence and attachment to antiquity, the old institutions; a well organized, not artificially drawn upon paper, constitutional monarchy of thoroughly natural growth and historical being.

has engrafted the impulse for constitutional freedom in Canada, Australia, East Indies, and in all her colonies, and has made them land and sea-bearing powers for the seeds of the Gospel and Christian culture.

In North America, except in the slavery of the southern States of the Union, the last remains of the feudal features of the Middle Ages are falling away. There is no king; no nobleman, no privileged class; no aristocracy, except the three-fold aristocracy unavoidable in a republic, that of character, talent and wealth; no orders and titles, except those of profession resting upon self-acquisition; no land-ownership confined to families; no standing army; no State Church, but instead, a general civil and religious freedom and equality, an unrestrained freedom of speech and of the press; the rule of the sovereign people; election by majority for nearly all officers; eligibility to the most influential positions; even the presidential chair accessible to the poorest and the lowest among those whose personal fitness and qualification entitle them to it; and yet in the midst of all this apparent excess of freedom, a general regard for law and order; a deep reverence for Christianity; a conservative spirit; a well ordered government; a perfect security for person and property, and great self-reliance towards those without, as in the Mexican war, where fiery patriotism and national pride supplied the wants of a standing army in a few weeks; introduced bands of volunteer's into the heart of the enemy's country; achieved one victory after another over the terrified Spaniard, and planted the flag of the Union upon the halls of Montezuma.

This may seem very strange and wonderful to those who are bound by a particular political theory, and who apply the same measure of judgment to all lands and conditions of men, and who do not apprehend history as a living manifoldness, but as a dead sameness; and that to each nation is given its particular problem to solve. But this is nevertheless a fact, and with deeds and actual facts we have to do. Although a Swiss by birth, and an American by adoption, I have lived too long in monarchies, not to apprehend, at least to some ex-

tent, their historical necessity and their high prerogatives. I have throughout no sympathy whatever with that pedantic and fanatical republicanism of so many Americans, who see salvation for Europe alone in the universal spread of republican institutions, and are therefore disposed to welcome—without looking at the matter more closely, for else they would judge far otherwise—even the worst kind of revolutions, born of the spirit of darkness. But, however unhistorical, foolish, yea even ridiculous an attempt to plant American institutions at once upon European soil might seem, yet on the other hand I can think of but one condition as wise and suitable for the United States, that of a republic. It has all traditions and sympathies in its favor; it is connected with all previous history, and with the present questions of the country; under this it has become great and strong; under this it feels itself fortunate and contented. One could scarcely tell where a King for America should come from. Certainly not from Europe, for the country is defended upon the East and West by the oceans against every successful invasion, as it is impregnable upon the North and South by its internal strength. A Monarch could only arise as a military Despot and Usurper, like Napoleon, from the blood of a civil war, and from such an one, it is to be hoped, that Christianity and civilization will defend us.

Although the American confederacy rests mainly upon a ground altogether different from the circumstances of European nations, and in so far presents something entirely new in the history of the world, yet it has come into being by no means in an abrupt and unmediated manner, but stands in the closest historical relation to England. *The American revolution of 1776*, out of which grew the great confederacy of free States, is in principle, character and tendency entirely different from the continental European revolution of 1789, and it is of the greatest importance, in order to understand properly, and to appreciate that country, and the prevailing conception of freedom there, always to keep this great difference before our eyes. It was no revolution at all in the sense of a sedition, and an

overturning of all the social circumstances, but simply a very powerful and historically necessary emancipation of the Colonies, which had now become of age, from the unnecessary and troublesome guardianship of the Mother country. Language, customs, religion, all the laws and regulations remained ostensibly the same, and were only formally, and so far altered, as the new condition of things rendered necessary. The English Common law, and the whole Court proceedings remain, and prevail now even as before. In the place of a hereditary Monarch there is a President, elected indeed by the people every four years, but with proportionally as much, and in some respects more power and influence, than is possessed by the Queen of England; in the place of Parliament there is a Congress with its two Houses, the Senate, which answers to the House of Lords, and in general represents the conservative principle, and the House of Representatives, which is a parallel to the English House of Commons, and whose prevailing tendency is yet more radical and progressive. The fathers and heads of the American revolution, with the exception of Tom Paine, the English Voltaire, who however soon lost all his influence, and was discarded by the entire decent part of American society, were any thing else than radical reformers and wild revolutionists, as the leaders of the French and German revolutions; but were men of sound practical tact, of a temperate, conservative and constitutionally liberal spirit, of the most praiseworthy moral, and in part also peculiarly religious character. For from the first settlement down, especially among the Puritan New Englanders, great reverence for God, and pious customs have prevailed, which guarded, lest the national exaltation should assume a radical character, and lose itself in wild extravagances. *George Washington*, the noblest embodiment of the American revolution, or rather of the secession from England, the Father of his country, "the first in war, the first in peace, and the first in the hearts of his countrymen," who, from Maine to Florida, and from New York to Oregon, honor him as a sort of a national God, was a thoroughly disinterested patriot, a mild, noble-minded, plain

and modest man, of an unimpeachable and altogether harmoniously formed character; a communicant member of the Episcopal Church, an upright reverencer of the word and commands of God, and daily in his study in prayer upon his knees before his Bible held his family devotions. His successors upon the President's chair down to Pierce have been regular attendants upon the worship of God's house, which generally in the United States belongs to a healthy tone, and in a moral and religious aspect has nothing to fear in comparison with any European dynasty. The greatest American statesmen and orators have on different occasions thrown the weight of their voice in the scale of virtue and piety, and have repeatedly declared with emphasis, that Christianity forms the basis of their republic, and that the extinction of the Church would at the same time draw along with it the destruction of all freedom and the ruin of the country. Seldom is religion scoffed at in Congress, and then it is usually thrown back with indignation, but frequently an open acknowledgment of the fundamental truths of revelation is heard. Each session of the Senate and House of Representatives is opened with prayer, whilst a motion to this effect in the Frankfort Parliament would be thrown back with scorn. No wonder that there the word is verified: Where God does not build the house, they labor in vain that build it. The celebrated *Henry Clay* acknowledged upon his death-bed, that he had tasted of the glories of earth and found them only vanity, and sought salvation and peace alone in Christ crucified. His great rival, *Daniel Webster*, the American Demosthenes, died in prayer for the pardon of his sins, and ordered to be placed upon his grave-stone: "I believe, help Lord, my unbelief." Such testimonies from such mouths have in America the weight of a powerful sermon, and become a holy legacy for the entire nation.

Herein there is also manifest the known fact, that the heroes of modern European freedom, or rather of licentiousness, the failure of whose revolution of 1848 has alas! swept so many over here, find themselves powerfully deceived in America, very soon in beer-houses and in godless newspapers, begin to scoff at and

ridicule the intolerable tedium of the Sunday, the pharisaical church attendance and priestcraft, and whatever else they are pleased to term the pious customs of the Americans, feel themselves quite uncomfortable, and would gladly return again to stir up a revolution here, which they find impossible there. The most of these radicals, who have kept up such a noise in France, Italy and Germany for the last few years, have there sunken down to mere ciphers, or at best have become mere citizens, who must acquire a livelihood and establish a character by the labor of their hands before they can lay claim to any influence or significance. The only celebrated revolutionist who actually attracted great attention, was *Kossuth*, who in his half year's stay in America as the "guest of the nation," made some hundred English and a few German speeches, and who, by the very remarkable power of his eloquence, and that in a strange language, and his rare gift of agitation, drew upon himself the admiration of thousands. But the history of his meteoric campaign of eloquence through the Union is told in few words: He rose like a rocket, and fell down like a stick. When he came to New York the second time, where a few months before he was received with unreasonable enthusiasm, no person concerned himself about him; unnoticed, and even under the assumed name of Alexander Smith he went back to England, and sought the quiet of a private residence in one of the suburbs of London. The best proof of the entire failure of his mission lies just in this, that the American government as before, now holds fast to, and will continue to hold to the wise policy of neutrality and peace, which has hitherto been observed, and which was so earnestly enjoined by Washington and by the dying Henry Clay, over against interference with European powers, and which Kossuth, by the most brilliant extravagance of his persuasive rhetoric endeavored to turn away in favor of European revolutions, especially in favor of a general uprising of the Hungarian people against the house of Hapsburg, which was prophesied as near at hand; although just at this time in the Russo-Turkish question, there is the best opportunity presented for

such an alteration in the outward policy, so as to make American influence felt in the councils of the great powers of Europe. The lesson may justly be learned from Washington, to stand upon a friendly footing with all European powers; to offer a free asylum to her superfluous and persecuted population; to work upon the old world, not by the rough power of weapons, and an uncalled for interference, but by the quiet, yet much deeper and worthier moral power of example.

There is to be found generally a difference in principle between the English American and the European radical conception of the condition of freedom. To the American, freedom is anything else than something purely negative and formal, an arbitrary pleasure and licentiousness of the flesh, where each one obeys his natural impulses, as the revolutionists wish, but a rational and moral self-control, inseparably connected with law, order and authority. True national freedom with him rests upon a moral basis, upon the self-possession and self-government of each citizen. Only he is fit for, and worthy of this distinguished good, who holds the reins of his own passions, who is master over his sensual nature, who, not from outward force, but from inward impulse, and therefore willingly and cheerfully obeys rational laws, whilst the liberalism of the vulgar reformation, or rather of radicalism, which undermines the authority of law, and sets itself in a hostile attitude to Christianity, necessarily sets aside every bond of social life, and ends in anarchy, and which then turns over very easily into the very worst and most dangerous form of despotism.

These healthy features of freedom, in connection with the earnest moral and religious character of the nation, constitute the basis of the North American republic, and can alone secure its permanence. True, there exist there, without question, very unhealthy and dangerous radical tendencies, and in the event of a political election all wild passions, lies, slanders and unrighteousness of all kinds are let loose, so that a large part of the best citizens with disgust and aversion for the movement of unprincipled demagogues, either draw back from

taking any active part in politics, or at most, exercise the right of citizenship by simply depositing their vote. Yet, in the main, there reigns undeniably among the people a healthy conservative spirit, which always makes itself felt again in favor of right and order, and it is an imposing spectacle, when, immediately after the election of a President or Governor, a general quietness and calm succeeds upon the raging storm of party strife, and the vanquished party patiently submits to the result, and never dreams of making its real or imagined rights felt in the way of force. The dissatisfaction, which indeed finds itself at home there as well as elsewhere, never charges upon the fundamental principles of the country, upon the constitution, but always directly upon the ruling party, and seeks only in constitutional and lawful ways to find relief from its complaints. In so far one may well judge, that the American confederacy, with all its wavering and the insecurity of its condition in details, such as is connected with the newness of the country, yet, upon the whole, rests upon a more firm basis, and is more secure from a powerful revolution than any other country on the European Continent.

A very characteristic proof for our judgment, that American freedom differs in principle from radicalism and licentiousness, and rests throughout upon the basis of self-control and self-restraint, and is evidently moral, lies certainly in the great *temperance movement*, especially in the so-called Maine liquor law, which entirely forbids, not directly the drinking, for that would be an encroachment upon personal freedom, but the buying and selling of all intoxicating drinks, including also *wine* and *beer*, except for medicinal, or sacramental purposes. This law a few years ago was at first introduced into one of the New England States, the predominantly puritanic State of Maine, and since by popular vote into several others, and even in the large States of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio efforts are now being put forth with great zeal in the way of public speaking, in the distribution of tracts, and by other means of agitation, to persuade the people to elect such delegates to the Legislature as are in favor of the temperance

cause, in order to remove the frightful evil from the roots, and to clear away even the temptation to the vice of drunkenness. I was myself, just before the election last fall, witness of the zeal and earnestness with which the agents of the temperance cause, both lay and clergy, canvassed the counties of Pennsylvania, spreading out their tents under the open heavens, commencing their meetings with the solemn service of singing and prayer, setting forth in a comprehensive manner the temporal and eternal consequences of intemperance, and with irresistible arguments showing to the people the duty of exercising their right of franchise openly and in an advantageous manner, in the consciousness of the high responsibility which they owe to God and man. It must be confessed, that this Maine liquor law, *viewed in itself*, manifestly goes too far, and transcends the limits of the Holy Scriptures, where it is a fact, that Christ himself turned water into wine; that wine was drunk according to a general custom, and in the Holy Supper has been consecrated as the symbolical bearer of his atoning blood. It must be remembered, however, that, with the exception of a few insignificant beginnings, the United States do not produce their own wine, and that by far the most that is bought under that name is more or less adulterated, and is as pernicious as whiskey itself. Whatever we may think of the Maine law—and we desire here neither to defend nor condemn it—we much admire the moral energy and self-denial of a free people, who would rather deny themselves an allowed pleasure in order to remove out of the way a temptation, which leads thousands of weak persons to the ruin of both body and soul. I will allow myself to address the modest question to those who see nothing in America but radicalism and the wildest extravagance: In what European State has the Government the heart to carry through such a prohibition of the buying and selling of all intoxicating drinks, and in what one would the people submit themselves to such a selfdenial?

Time will, however, not allow me to enter into a closer analysis of the American Constitution; and to go into the circumstances of the Central Government at Washington, to di-

rect and control the separate States; the composition of Congress and the Legislatures; the difference between the two parties, into which the whole country is divided, the Whigs and the Democrats; the nature of the popular vote; of the administration of justice; juridical and congressional eloquence, &c. But upon one point I must add at least a few words, namely, upon *Slavery*, which prevails indeed only in the Southern States, yet, in consequence of their connection with the northern States as a political corporation, it becomes a national affair; and lately, especially by the unexampled spread of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," substantially a tolerably true representation of life in the slave States, has also awakened the attention of Europe in a high degree.

Slavery is without question the greatest political and social difficulty in the Union, which gives occasion to continued agitation in Congress, and throws the apple of discord from year to year into the Church itself, and in 1850 brought us to the brink of a formal dissolution of the Union.

The leaders of the two great political parties, Clay and Webster on the side of the Whigs, Cass and Buchanan on the side of the Democrats, at that time employed all the power of their eloquence and statesmanship to carry through the so-called Compromise Measures, and thereby save the Union. But the agitation respecting it continues yet in both Church and State, and broke out again last winter in stormy debates in Congress upon the Nebraska bill, and will only come to a quietus with the removal of the evil itself. That there should exist in the United States over three millions of negro slaves, who can be bought and sold as dead merchandize, stands certainly in palpable contradiction to their fundamental maxim, that all men are free and equal, or as one might better express it, are created for freedom. But how and in what manner this evil, which was not created by them, but inherited, which has rooted itself into the very heart of the country, and become interwoven with all the material interests of the South, is to be gotten rid of, is one of the most difficult questions that has ever been presented to the skill of the Statesman for solution.

There are, generally speaking, upon this subject, three parties in the Union. 1.) The *Abolitionist* of the North, especially of New England, who regards slavery as sinful *per se*, and urges its immediate abolition, which is again separated into two quite distinct branches, the one proceeding upon scriptural grounds, the other, in the most radical excess, upon other grounds, such as the emancipation of women, and losing itself in open infidelity, therefore does far more injury than good to the cause. 2.) The *Secessionists* of the South, particularly of South Carolina, who, embittered by the overbearing attacks of the Abolitionists, threaten Congress with a separation from the confederacy, and the formation of separate southern republics. Many of these defend Slavery as a necessary social offset to the democracy of the north, as a conservative element, with an appeal to the insurmountable difference between the African and Caucasian race; to the miserable condition of the emancipated negro, and even to the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, and to the Epistle of Paul to Philemon. 3.) The *Union party*, by far the most influential, composed of Whigs and Democrats together, who hold up the Union at all hazards from patriotic and material considerations, and prefer to give slavery over to the legislation of its own States, and leave them decide their own fate. The most of its advocates believe that slavery will gradually die out of itself, and that an immediate emancipation, without a previous education on the part of the slave, would rather operate for their injury than for their advantage. Die out, indeed it will, in the course of time, as it has already done in the Northern States, which would perhaps already have taken place in Maryland and Kentucky, had not the Abolitionists in their overbearing judgment of the slaveholder called forth a re-action. But so much appears clear to me from the standpoint of religion and of humanity, that it is the duty of the State and the Church, in a quiet way, and without prejudice to the rights of the slaveholder, to prepare for the gradual emancipation of the slaves, by presenting this as the most reasonable demand of freedom, and by the enactment of laws,

which may hold forth the prospect of the freedom of the rising generation at a certain age of life.

But in the event of a general abolition of Slavery, the great difficulty still remains, whether the African race upon the whole can stand beside the Caucasian in the full enjoyment of equal rights, mingle with them and wholly fulfill their destiny. As is known, there exists in the free States an insurmountable barrier between the whites and emancipated negroes, and even the most zealous Abolitionist with all his loud talk about absolute equality of all men, would scarcely at any price allow himself to unite his fortune for life with a negro woman. I doubt whether an Englishman or a German would do it. The condition of the free negro in America is upon the whole a pitiable one, and not seldom worse than that of their enslaved brethren at the South, at least in cases where piously disposed masters—and of these, thank God, there are not a few—so carefully attend to, and kindly treat them, that often they are quite unwilling to accept of proffered freedom. It therefore seems to me, that the same urgent duty rests upon the Northern States, by wise laws to better the social condition of the free negroes, and to raise them to the true dignity of human beings, as it rests upon the Southern States to promote the gradual emancipation of the slaves.

As yet I see but one bright spot in the dark tragical picture of slavery, that is the American *Colonization Society*, with its established negro-republic in Liberia upon the western coast of Africa. In this Colony whose progress has hitherto been fortunate beyond all expectation, and which has some of its warmest and most liberal patrons among the slaveholders themselves in the Southern States, there is made at least a beginning of a thorough bettering of the condition of the negro, and the foundation laid at the same time for the general christianization and civilization of the native wild negro tribes, in a land whose climate the Caucasian race could as little endure, as the negro could hitherto, whilst in contact with the whites, raise himself to an equal social signification and dignity. And it would seem in this case, that God designs anew to reveal his

wonderful wisdom, by which he knows how to bring good even out of evil, in that He designs by means of the christianized and civilized negro to kindle the light of the everlasting Gospel in the heart of that consecrated terra incognita, and so to turn the fearful curse of American slavery, that heavy guilt of European and American Christendom—for it was introduced into the new world under Spanish, French, Danish and English influence—into an inestimable blessing for the heathen and barbarous people of Africa.

3. NATIONAL CHARACTER AND SOCIAL CONDITION.

The United States presents, in the next place, a wonderful mixture of nations from every quarter of the heavens, and a journey through it is in a certain sense a journey through the world, and in so far one of the most interesting and instructive that can be made. For there Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen, Germans from all districts, Swiss, Hollanders, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Italians, Swedes, Norwegians, Poles, Magyars, with their well known national prejudices and weaknesses have peaceably settled down together in an equality of social and political rights. To these European nationalities must be added also the red aborigines of the country, who retire continually deeper into the forests and prairies of the west, and, in spite of every attempt to christianize and civilize them, approach, by the means of internal wars, epidemics and poisonous liquors, continually nearer to their tragical fate of entire extinction; further, the swarthy sons of Africa rejoicing in the childlike serenity of their existence, and even in the condition of freedom, bowing instinctively before the superiority of the whites; finally, also the emigrant from the celestial empire, with his oblong-drawn eyes, his complacency of mind, his mechanical culture, his industry and love of money, drawn thither by the yellow gold of California.

We have also in America an ethnographical panorama, which one may see pass before his eyes even in a walk of a few hours upon Broadway, New York, Chesnut street, Philadelphia, or upon the markets of San Francisco. But not only

nationalities of the old world, but sectional peculiarities, manners and customs, which have outlived themselves in their primitive situations, are propagated yet in part with the most remarkable tenacity. In Virginia, you meet with the English gentlemen of the age of Elizabeth and the later Stuarts; in Philadelphia, with the Quaker from the days of George Fox and William Penn; in East Pennsylvania, with the Palatine and the Suabian from the beginning of the last century; in New England, with the Puritan from the times of Cromwell and Baxter; on the banks of the Hudson and in New Jersey, with the genuine Hollanders; in South Carolina, with the Huguenots and the French noblemen of the seventeenth century, or at least very characteristic remains of them, which in Europe have already become much more defaced. From this it may appear, with what cautiousness and limitation the descriptions of so many European travellers must be taken, who take up a particular phase and make it the measure of their judgment for the whole. By this treatment one may trace out their contradictory statements.

But what is most remarkable, over this bundle of diversities there prevails yet a higher unity, and that in this mixture of people there are seen already the fundamental outlines of a peculiarly *American national* character. Those persons err very much who see in the United States merely the faint echo of European nationalities, and allow themselves to deny to that country a self-existent, historical future. Whoever with open eyes steps upon the soil of the new world will soon come in contact with the impulse of a powerful, fresh and thoroughly national life, which immediately takes up all foreign elements and assimilates them into its own organism. The digestive faculty of the American is truly wonderful. How many thousands and millions of Europeans has his stomach already taken up, and yet he has only become the more firm and healthy.

The main trunk of American nationality is undoubtedly English, but certainly furnished with a peculiar modification, and a great facility of working up foreign elements. One

must journey to England, Scotland and North America, in order to obtain a clear idea of the Anglo-Saxon race. If we only form the acquaintance of an Englishman abroad, we meet with him in the most unfavorable position. He is upon the Continent like a fish out of water; usually has his known spleen, i. e., a spur in his head, and presents to the observer, with his stiff awkwardness and his tenacious adherence to his peculiar, insular ideas and manners, even down to his favorite beefsteak and plumpudding, a ridiculous side, so that one is led to wonder, how this whimsical John Bull could attain the world-dominion. Something of the same sort, but in a more limited degree, is true of the American. But just what seems to be their weakness abroad—I say seems, for with all their stiffness and singularity, one cannot help at other times looking upon them with esteem and admiration—that is their strength at home. The Anglo-Saxon and the Anglo-American of all modern people have the strongest national character, and the one best adapted for world-dominion, which is throughout not indeed despotic, but renders its subjects free citizens. For it is liberal and conservative at the same time. With him—and that is the secret of his national greatness and significance—the impulse for freedom is inseparably connected with a law and order-abiding spirit, and both these rest upon a moral basis. For conscience, and a sense of duty are deeply impressed upon him, and I doubt whether the ethical influence of Christianity and Protestantism has made a deeper and more general impression on any other nation than upon the Anglo-Saxon. It is characteristic that the very word *glory*, which presents itself in almost every paragraph of Napoleon's proclamation, is not to be found in Wellington's dispatches, but in its place always the word *duty*. *Glory* is the motto of the French, *duty* that of the English. Napoleon kindled ambition in his soldiers at the battle of the Pyramids by proclaiming: "Centuries look down upon you?" Nelson at Trafalgar appealed to the sense of duty in his seamen by simply reminding them that "England expects every man to do his duty to-day." This spiritual energy and solidity the Anglo-Saxons

have in common with the Germans, inasmuch as they are both branches of the same Germanic stock. But whilst with the latter they turn upon the inward, and make themselves felt in the sphere of thought and of theory, so with the former, they are directed more to the outward, and take a turn upon the will and the action. The German is the deepest spirit; the Englishman the strongest character. That one can take up and comprehend all in himself; this one shape and organize all from within him. That one has a wonderful facility of transferring and finding himself in all, and on this account so often gives himself up and loses himself in foreign nationalities; this one is stiff and unyielding, (but makes every thing subserve him.) The German is the most cordial and good natured person in the world, and gives free vent to his warm, hearty feelings and sentiments; the Englishman and the American has also good humor, but it throbs under a marble cover, he has perfected himself in power, and is therefore best fitted to rule over others. True, he lays no obstruction in the way of the foreigner, but leaves him to perform within the healthy restraints of law, and yet he exercises an immense power and influence over him, so that in the end he cannot withstand him.

The American has the same talent for organization; the same self-control; the same energy and business tact as the Englishman; his spirit of enterprize is even greater, and not seldom degenerates into downright foolhardiness, and the most light minded contempt for human life, as appears in a frightful manner in the many conflagrations and accidents on steamboats and rail-roads. I grant that the Englishman has more solidity than the American, but then the latter is much younger. But on this account the latter has more vivacity, elasticity and power for development. The former is so much cut off by his insular position; the latter moves upon a large continent and between too great oceans. The former has not yet been able, in immediate contact, to assimilate the Celtic Irishman, and to relieve him of his oppressive load; the latter soon thoroughly impresses the emigrants from foreign nations with the common feeling of an American.

Although the fundamental outlines of American national character discover themselves already pretty clearly, and declare themselves predominantly Anglo-Saxon, yet it is only in its formation period, and the more this character unfolds itself, the more will the un-English elements, favored by an increasing emigration from all lands of the European continent, make themselves felt, and exert a modifying influence upon it. In New York, where the Hollander, and in Louisiana, the Frenchman first settled down, they do not allow themselves to be entirely lost. And least is this the case possibly with the Germans, the number of which, including their descendants, amounts already to upwards of four millions. Already have the middle and Western States, where the Germans have mostly settled down, a marked difference from the New England and Southern States. They stand midst between the two in a geographical, as well as in a national and social view. Pennsylvania, for instance, the so-called Key-stone State, which holds together the colossal structure of the Union, is neither pure English, nor pure German, but Anglo-German, and will continue to become even more so. Even where the German language is swallowed up by the English, the German spirit and temper make themselves felt in a new dress, and from the ashes of the old German Adam, not unfrequently the American gentleman springs forth, who unites in beautiful harmony the features of the German and the Englishman. Without any question the German has a great problem to solve in the new world, altho' he may not yet have come to the consciousness of it. But he will not develop himself fully and with due proportion, if he stiffly and obstinately cut himself off from the Anglo-American, and in this way persist in building up a State in a State; much more ought he by virtue of his inborn cosmopolitanism, and universality, lay hold of energetically and master the Anglo-American life, appropriate its advantages to himself, and thoroughly permeate it by the breath of his own life and spirit, and thus Germanize it as much as possible. In this way there will be thrown open to him a large and fruitful sphere of activity, whereas by separating himself, he will at

the same time rob himself of all influence upon the central stream of American life. Has the German the task, the compass of ideas and the heart's-blood for the preparation of modern civil and ecclesiastical history, then he has it in an especial manner, for America. There the partialities and weaknesses, in short the whole long cue of the German Michel—also the reversed cue, which seems to have been made according to the fashion of 1848—may pass away, whilst his features only, the depth of his spirit and temper remain, and by appropriation the undeniable energy, and practical tact of the Anglo-Saxon become enriched. Besides the German and English can mix much easier than other nations. They are both evidently Germanic or Teutonic; a certain simplicity, honesty and respect for character are common to both; a deep-rooted reverence for woman; love for husbandry and domestic life; above all a moral earnestness and religious disposition; and religious life with them has shaped itself similarly, inasmuch as they are the chief bearers of the ideas and institutions of evangelical Protestantism, in the hands of which is placed the theoretical and practical mission of the world. Their destinies there, where they are providentially thrown into immediate contact with one another, and meet in all circumstances of social life, can certainly not be to hate and to fight, but to reverence, love and learn from each other, and thus mutually to perfect each other.

J. H. A.

(To be continued..)

ART. VII.—SHORT NOTICES.

THE SEPULCHRES OF OUR DEPARTED. *By Rev. F. R. Anspach, A. M., Hagerstown, Md. Philadelphia; Lindsay & Blakiston. 1854.*

WE hail the above work, from the pen of the Rev. F. R. Anspach, with peculiar pleasure. It is a free-will offering to the age in which we live, which cannot fail to place it under deep and lasting obligations to the author. The book breathes a life and freshness which make it stand out in bold, yet humble and beautiful contrast with the great majority of works written in the present age. It is original, sound and earnest. Its theme—"The Sepulchres of our Departed"—is most interesting and popular, which, connected with its lucid and graphic style, will not fail, as far as it may extend, to enlist the attention of all who live and know that they must die. In addition to the *intrinsic* interest of the theme, the author, by the peculiar constitution of his mind and heart, throws around it an attraction which will give it a willing and pleasant occupancy in every heart. Although the work is divided into twenty chapters, each one seemingly independent and complete in itself, yet, as we travel on through its pages, we are made to feel as well as perceive, that one *animus* reigns throughout, and gives the whole a beautiful artistic consistency. The various notices which have been taken of it by the press generally are of the most flattering character. Let the introduction of a few suffice here. The "Pittsburg Christian Advocate," speaking of its varied excellencies, says: "It is a charming volume, blending the beautiful sentiments of nature with the realizations of Christian truth. One rises from its perusal, conscious of a feeling like that derived from 'memory of joys past,' pleasant but mournful to the soul. It cannot fail to prove acceptable to the reading public generally; and its circulation will tend to correct a lamentable indifference too often felt and manifested towards the 'Sepulchres of our Departed.'" The same high appreciation is evinced by the remarks contained in the "Evening Mirror": "A volume of nearly 500 pages will not be deemed too large, when so touchingly, beautifully and instinctively written as is this, on a subject in

which almost every person has a sacred interest. In twenty chapters the author treats of the associations, the lessons, the influences, the inspirations of the Sepulchre; and he has placed under great obligations the multitudes for whom the book has a sad and yet happy adaptation. We cannot too confidently recommend this volume to every thoughtful, and especially to every bereaved reader." The "Puritan Recorder" thus speaks of it: "It is peculiarly rich in consolatory thought, and is altogether a fervent, evangelical, and deeply interesting production." In the "Easton Argus" we find the following: "This work embodies a leading thought of uncommon power and beauty. Every page indicates close observation and deep thought. There are thrilling passages in the work, eloquent appeals, and tender admonitions, all which at once speak to the heart and are adapted to purify and chasten it. The sound taste, devout feeling, and pleasing and new views which characterize the work, give it a high value; it enlarges the bounds of the reader's thoughts and elevates his heart to God." The "Presbyterian" says of it: "A fine tone pervades the volume, and it abounds in just sentiments ornately expressed." The "German Reformed Messenger" says: "His style is clear and vigorous, well adapted to engage the reader's feelings as well as to convince his judgment. Sometimes it rises into pathos and stirring eloquence; the eloquence of truth and conviction." The "New York Observer," among other things, says: "Around the grave the author has grouped those thoughts which rouse the mind to a noble contemplation of the purposes of God, the destiny of the soul, the ends to be answered by afflictions, and kindred topics, so that the several chapters will be perused with profit, not by the bereaved only, but by all who believe that there is a better land beyond the tomb." But we refrain from further quotations of the notices of the work which have appeared so abundantly in every direction. These will suffice to show the reader the general estimation in which the book is held by those who are competent to judge, and at the same time convey some general idea of the character of the book itself.

The work carries upon its pages conclusive evidence of a strong, vigorous, healthy mind in its author—a mind well cultivated and at home in the various departments of learning. In reading the book we at once feel that we are perusing the production of a scholar. Whilst the matter is of the most varied character, and collected from the most varied sources, it is

never exhibited under a confused form, or in an improper place. The facility with which it is collected is the measure of the power by which it is re-produced, and neither seems more perfect than the judgment by which it is applied. The strength of perfect ease and calmness underlies every sentence; and such is the greatness of spirit, the piety of heart, and the sombre yet pleasing melancholy instampt upon its pages, that we feel bound to it as by an invisible power. This is no doubt partly the effect of a sad thought, coupled with a beloved object, amid the sacredness of sepulchral gloom; but chiefly is it to be attributed to the skill of the author in adapting the one to the other in such a way as to render the sadness pleasing and spiritually improving.

The *theology* of the work, so far as its practical character allows this to come to any clear theoretic expression, is in good keeping with the origin and early history of the Church in the midst of which the author stands. It exhibits no sympathy with the puritanic element which of later years has come to occupy such a conspicuous position in that Church in this country. This is regarded throughout as altogether a foreign element, and destructive of those real comforts which the graves of the saints are adapted to inspire. Though the imagination of the author is vivid, and, in many instances is allowed to give deep coloring to his views, yet, underneath the flower which beautifies, may always be found the most substantial realities. Christianity is ever regarded, both in its principle and effects, as a real divine-human life, emanating from the person of Christ, and made to pervade his people in a real way, mind, soul and body, preparing them thus, in a way equally real, for life, death, and the resurrection. The body is regarded as participating in full, in the redemption life in Christ. As sin has corrupted it substantially, so has the righteousness of Christ, through the power of faith, given it a positive relation to the sanctified humanity of his Person. The body is, therefore, sacred, not on the ground of its having been the tenant merely of a pious spirit, or because of the affectionate ties which bound it to its kindred, but because it has participated in the redemption of the Gospel just as really and truly as the spirit itself. Whilst, therefore, we lay the body in the grave, we are taught to do it in the confident belief, that it contains the gem of a new spiritual life, which, in the resurrection, without losing anything essential to it as a real human body, will develop an incorruptible and glorious body, like

that of Christ itself. This view is directly the opposite of that of the Puritan faith, which can find no room for the body, in the redemption of Christ, in any real way. As soon as life is extinct, all reverence for it is withdrawn, or if any demonstrations of this character are constrained by the deeper-consciousness of relatives, it is set down at once as weak and idolatrous. The body is carelessly thrown under ground, and either forgotten entirely, or else held in remembrance only as that body which God, by the bare exertion of his almighty power, will change and raise up in the resurrection. Its sacredness, *per se*, is thus entirely destroyed, except in so far as kindred affection may serve to give it this character. Every thing like real solemn service at the grave is looked upon as vain mummery, and often even as solemn mockery. All vital relation between it and the Church living is at once broken up and destroyed. Whilst the communion of *spirits* may continue, that of *saints* has ceased at death. The grave-yard is no vital part of the Church of Jesus Christ; and hence may either be entirely neglected, or given into the hands of worldly corporations whose *business* it may be made to attend to it and keep it in some decent repair. Reverence, piety or true Christian affection, as such, are laid under no obligation in this direction, whatever, except in so far as outward appearances, in the light of worldly refinement and civilization, may make their exercise necessary in this practical way.

Now is not all this plainly the development of an inward infidelity in reference to the reality and completeness of the redemption of Christ? Is it not arraying one section of the Church against the other? Does it not make the cemetery, with its silent but potent voices, contradict flatly those of the pulpit, proclaiming faith in the resurrection of the body?

Against this practically unbelieving spirit, the above work is calculated to do good service. Its tendency is to draw back this wandering thought and make it cluster around the tombs of the departed, and to induce and cultivate such a practical habit of piety as shall make our grave-yards and cemeteries earnest evidences of our faith when we say: "We believe in the resurrection of the body."

This practical tendency of this work, in connection still further with its consolatory character to the bereaved, should insure for it a very wide circulation. Every minister of the Gospel who has a desire to propagate practical views of real Christianity relative to the most solemn point in life, that of dying,

should not only procure this work for themselves, but give it a warm recommendation to all, over whose spiritual interest they have been placed. The effect would not only be to enrich and beautify the resting-place of the departed; to throw around it a holy element, inviting the bereaved to retirement and meditation; but it would aid in cultivating, also, that true, humble, chastened piety, which is so beautiful in life, so calm in death, and which, from the tomb, speaks with an eloquence which wins the heart for God.

We are happy to see that the demand for this work is already bringing out the second edition: and we are free to say, that, if its circulation shall in any proper measure correspond with its literary, theological and pious merits, it will not only soon reach its second edition, but its fifth and sixth. G.

THE WORLD IN THE MIDDLE AGES: An Historical Geography, with an account of the Origin and Development, the Institutions and Literature, the Manners and Customs of the nations in Europe, Western Asia, and Northern Africa, from the close of the fourth to the middle of the fifteenth century. By Adolphus Louis Kæppen, Professor of History and German Literature in Franklin and Marshall College, Pa. Accompanied by complete Historical and Geographical Indexes, and six colored maps from the Historical Atlas of Charles Spruner, LL. D., Captain of Engineers in the Kingdom of Bavaria. 2 vols. pp. 851. Folio edition embracing the maps pp. 232. Appleton & Co., New York. Little Britain, London. 1854.

THE Middle Ages, sometimes called the Dark Ages, have, until recently, been regarded as a *terra incognita*, a dreary and sterile territory, unworthy of anything like serious study or active exploration. Other departments of history have been cultivated with the most intense zeal, whilst that interesting interval of time, which divides the ancient from the modern world, has been set aside as it were by common consent, as incapable of presenting a proper arena for the display of historical skill, or of affording anything interesting or edifying to the common reader. It is true, Gibbon has thrown the light of his genius over that period, but it is much more the fading splendor of the Roman Empire, than the dawn of modern civilization, that occupies the foreground in his luminous pages. The skeptical and irreligious spirit, moreover, which

he delights to exhibit whenever an opportunity presents itself, has deterred many persons from reading his able and learned work. Hallam is unreasonably dry, and he has doubtless helped to confirm the impression, that the subject of which he treats, is as dry as his style. More recently Guizot by his brilliant, yet philosophical *History of Civilization*, has awakened in this country and England a new interest in mediæval history, more so perhaps than any other writer. He was himself interested in what he wrote, and therefore succeeded in awakening a similar interest in the mind of his reader. By tracing modern European Institutions back to their origin in the Middle Ages, and by treating his subject in a truly liberal spirit, he made it appear how intimately we, of the nineteenth century, stand related to our ancestors, who lived before the Reformation, and thus did something to restore the current of natural sympathy, which the superficiality of our times had almost destroyed. No one who is willing to divest himself of prejudice, can read him without having his horizon of sympathy considerably enlarged. Corresponding, but more important influences at work in the Theological world, however, have done much more than the labors of single individuals in bringing us to a proper appreciation of the "World in the Middle Ages." Religious men in various directions have made the inquiry, whether the Christianity of the present day cannot be reconciled and harmonized with the Christianity of the past. In Germany more than elsewhere, Protestantism has sought to set aside the narrow limits in which its history has been confined, and to connect its life more and more with the Church of former days. The Middle Ages, the maternal soil of the Reformation and of modern civilization, has of course begun to be regarded in a new light, and its literary and theological treasures are again brought into market. The history of the Church in that period has been carefully studied, and the Christianity then prevalent, if not of such a character as would pass current in our day, has been proved to be Christianity of some kind, and entitled to our charity at least, if not to our respect. A religious interest was thus awakened in a portion of history, from which it had been thought it ought to be excluded. This may naturally be expected to be permanent in its character, and to show itself in the literature of the day.

The work of Prof. Kœppen has of course nothing theological in its character or tendency. It is a purely objective representation of the external features of the world during the

formative period of the great European Commonwealth. It was written, so far as we can see, with nothing more than a literary and historical interest in view. It is possible that his attention, unconsciously to himself, has been turned to that period of history by the new direction which historical studies are taking, just as it is possible, that his book may now subserve other and more important interests than those which are merely literary.

We consider the Historical Geography a valuable accession to our Literature. It meets a desideratum, which has been long felt. It is a book that has been manifestly called for, which, however, cannot be said of many new publications. As far as our knowledge extends, we know of no book in our own language, that fills precisely its place. Every one who studies the history of the Middle Ages, must have felt the want of some work of this kind, to serve as a guide in ascertaining geographical localities. This has been no doubt the case with the general student, but with no one more so, than the student of Church History. We would regard the work before us as a most valuable traveller's guide in the study of Neander's History of the Church.

It embraces a period of a thousand years, during which time the Geography of Europe was constantly changing. Owing to the unsettled state of the times, and the irruption of the hordes from the North and the East, the landmarks of different countries and territories were either buried beneath the inundations or conveyed to some distant point. The Europe of the fourth was very different from the Europe of the eighth or tenth century. Political divisions in the same territorial districts differed as much in a few centuries, as if they pertained to different countries entirely. Prof. K., therefore, very properly divides his Geography into several periods, and in this way gives his readers an opportunity of viewing the fluctuating aspect of European Society from so many different points of observation. With the six elegant maps bound up with the folio edition, we would say that the book is a most beautiful moving panorama, in which Europe from the fourth to the fourteenth century is made to pass before the eye. The first period embraces the political Geography of the Roman Empire after its final division into the Eastern and Western in the year 395. It exhibits the geographical position of the different Barbarian nations immediately before their migrations. The second gives a view of Europe and the adjacent

parts of Asia and Africa at the beginning of the sixth century, before the accession of Justinian, A. D. 527. It defines the settlements of the northern barbarians in the various provinces of the Western empire. The third contains the geography of Europe towards the close of the sixth century, after the conquest of Europe by the Avars, and of Italy by the Lombards, forming the termination of the second period of the great migrations from the North and the East. The fourth describes Europe, Western and Central Asia, and Northern Africa, at the beginning of the ninth century during the reign of Charlemagne, and the highest development of the Saracenic Empire under the Abbasid Caliphs of Bagdad and the Ommiyad Emirs of Cordova. The fifth contains the Geography of all the States in Europe, Western Asia, and Northern Africa, at the death of the Emperor Otho the Great, about the year 973. The sixth is the Geography of the Old World during the times of the Crusades, from the close of the eleventh to the beginning of the fourteenth century. The seventh period embraces the Geography of Europe and Asia towards the close of the fourteenth century, at the time of the feudal wars between the English and French crowns, and the progress of the Ottoman Turks, and the widest extent of the Mongol Empire of Tamerlane. The eighth and last period, is the Political Geography of Europe and Western Asia towards the close of the fifteenth century, after the destruction of the Byzantine Empire in 1453, and the re-organization of the German Empire by Maximilian, the extinction of the Moorish Kingdom of Grenada, and the discovery of America in 1492.

The six historical maps delineate in the most beautiful manner these eight general periods. The first and second Periods are each represented in their proper maps. The third Period embraces the second and third maps. The fourth, fifth and sixth Periods have each their own maps, whilst for the last two Periods, one general map was thought sufficient.

The name of Geography attached to the book might create the impression that it contains nothing but the dry details of Geography and Chronology. The readers of this Review, however, who have read the articles of Prof. Kœppen as they appeared from time to time, will not think so. What in the hands of many writers would degenerate into uninteresting details are clothed with life and interest in the book before us. The style is sprightly, and the coloring that is ever

and anon laid upon an apparently uninteresting detail, will be found to be truly graphic and life-like.

We heartily recommend the book to our readers. It will be found to be especially valuable as a book of reference in their historical readings. As a text book in Schools and Colleges, it will fill up an important vacuum.

The maps which are bound up with the folio-edition, are published separately to accompany the two small volumes, and a general abridgment of the whole, which is still to appear.

T. A.

THE BIRDS OF THE BIBLE, by the Rev. H. Harbaugh, author of "*The Heavenly Recognition*," "*The Heavenly Home*," &c., &c., elegantly illustrated. Philadelphia. Lindsay & Blackiston. 1854. 4to. 300pp.

READER, art thou entertaining, this season, some serious thoughts of making, to her whom thou wottest of, a very handsome present? We do not wish to be too inquisitive. We ask not the lady's name: Thy particular intentions cannot be kept too secret. If told about they might reach her own ears, and that would be a mishap indeed. In the eyes of a fair receiver the value of a present is much enhanced by having it come into her hands with a sudden surprise, having cast before it no premonitory shadows. We ask not then whether she be of thine own household; thy mother, for instance, or sister, or wife, or darling child; or whether, if these latter two be wanting, she be some fair acquaintance in the neighboring street whom thou lovest to visit these cool autumnal evenings; or peradventure thou art a lonesome man, like myself, whose loved ones are far away, yet thou wishest still to send them some handsome token of thy regard more valuable than letters.—Keep all this to thyself. We wish not to intrude into the sanctity of thy kind intentions. It is altogether about the selection of the article that we are concerned at present, and on this subject we would fain hold with thee a short parley.

Take thy time. Look well around thee before thou settlest on thy choice. It is yet two full months till Christmas. In an affair of such great moment it is not well for thee to be over hasty. Show thy good taste. For gold or silver ware or Parisian statuettes or some choice articles of furniture hast thou a fancy? All right enough. These are worthy and lasting. Still, in these things I confess I am no connoisseur, and

with respect to their selection I feel unqualified to give advice. Study, if thou canst, the taste and wants of her thou wishest to please, and select accordingly.

May be, however, thy predilections are for literature and thou meditatest some day soon to venture into some bookstore and from its shelves or counter select and carry off a handsome volume. In this department we feel more at home. Shall we throw thee out then, before thou goest, a few hints and cautions?

In the first place, be not carried away with every new novel thou seest, however handsomely gotten up it may be, and popular, and bepraised by the critics. It has not yet stood the test of time. Rather take some choice old poet or later writer's book whose reputation is established. Where now are your Queechies, your Uncle Tom's Cabins, and your Wide Wide Worlds, which, a few years since, were pronounced standard works? They have all passed away, like the fashions, to give place for others, which will, no doubt, soon be displaced in their turns. Above all, I would have thee eschew all Annuals, however handsomely gotten up. As their name imports, they are intended to please but for a season; and I would have thee purchase something substantial and lasting. This the maiden or lady of whom thou art thinking deserveth at thine hands. On their title pages these brief annuals bear conspicuously their Roman figures, and when out of date they are always out of place. As their year expires, like an old almanac, they must be thrown aside to make room for others more fresh and new. Some choice one, perhaps, by its fair owner, may be retained abroad in her parlor for a year or two beyond its time; but, in the end, she will quietly remove it from her centre-table. Dates are ugly things; and what fair lady would wish it to be known that she had been in the habit of receiving presents even from yourself so many years ago?

Thou wouldst not then recommend, methinks I hear some one conclude from my remarks, as a Christmas present, the work whose title stands at the head of this article: *THE BIRDS OF THE BIBLE*, by the Rev. H. Harbaugh, author of "The Heavenly Recognition," "The Heavenly Home," &c., &c., elegantly illustrated. Gentle reader, thou shouldst not so conclude. A copy of the work lies before me on my table which has been the suggester of these remarks. A solid book it is, after the old English fashion, substantially bound in richly embossed dove-colored Turkey Morocco, and about it there is an odor of

antiquity which tells that it will last. The things about which it treats are taken from the best and most ancient classic in the world. But while they are thus rendered sacred and venerable, they are by no means antiquated or obsolete, but belong also to living nature as seen by us still in the fields and forests, or about our barns and houses. The author, therefore, has drawn his descriptions and anecdotes and incidents not only from old tomes, but from modern authors and observation; and over the whole has he thrown besides the witchery of his own happy style and fancy. As he remarks himself in his preface, he has endeavored not so much to give descriptions of dead birds as to make pictures of living ones; and in this endeavor he has certainly well succeeded. His book is animated not only with the finest plumage, but also with the richest warblings, and resembles more a grove than a cabinet. I take it up and it falls open before me at the picture of the swan:

"The tall-built Swann faire type of pride confest,"

and I am surprised how skillfully and well the painter has succeeded in setting forth all the graces of that bird as seen in nature and described by the poets. How he rides along in all the majesty of ease, while he swells his lifted chest and flings backward his bridled neck between his "luxuriant wings of whitest garniture" and "glorying looks around the silent tides!" As advances his "downy prow," how he rumples before him the surface into circling waves (excuse my poeticals) which are already felt by the broad, floating green leaves of that water-lily, and soon his breast will be bearing down its snowy petals. How much the picture is improved by being thus faithfully and naturally colored!

But, reader, I have no time to be showing you all the illustrations. You must look at them for yourself at your leisure. Superb as these are, however, it is not on them that the merit of the work entirely rest. It is replete also with choice passages from the old poets and some that are excellent though new. I never thought so many fine things had been written about the birds. Rare descriptions it contains from the best authors from Chaucer down to our own Poe. If the stars are the poetry of heaven, undoubtedly the birds are the poetry of the atmosphere. What a choice fragment of old English poetry is that from the *Bibliotheca Biblica*, descriptive of the birds of the Bible forbidden to be eaten! How soothing and consoling that poem on the dove, by Mary Townsend, suggested by the Raven of

Edgar Poe, which is also inserted in the volume and to which this forms a happy contrast or counterpart; his being the embodiment of dark despair, but hers that of consolation and heavenly hope. How tender and pleasing too that ode to the cuckoo, commencing:

Hail, beauteous stranger of the grove!

These apart from the many appropriate passages from the ancient and modern classics introduced, which of course, are very fine.

The readers of the Guardian may suppose themselves posted up in these matters, having read the descriptions as they first came out in that periodical, but let me tell them that the hasty sketches there inserted have all been re-modelled and re-written, and so much additional material added that they could hardly tell them to be the same.

The book we pronounce then a fine specimen of what might properly be called the *Perennials*: one that will not waste its sweetness in a single year, but continue to bloom for many; one that will not soon be superseded or impaired, but, like a good old painting, keep its place and be rather improved by age; one that will rest comfortably beside even the Bible or any other good book and not feel out of place; one that will delight not only youth and beauty and childhood with his laughing eyes, but be read with pleasure also by manhood, and lighten with a mellow smile even the cheek of hoary eld as he pores over it earnestly through his sober glasses.

W. M. N.

